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PANJAB UNIVERSITY

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Volume XXI, No. 1 April, 1990

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Chief Editor
NIRMAL MUKERJI

PANJAB UNIVERSITY
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हरिद्वार

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NARCISSISM AND DEATH WISH IN *THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE* : AN ANALYSIS OF EUSTACIA VYE'S SUICIDE

Giles Mitchell

Although several critics haved observed that Eustacia Vye's death is a suicide, no one has shown that Eustacia's life reveals numerous suicidal tendencies. The indications that Eustacia is obsessively death oriented are so pervasive that her self-inflicted death is virtually predictable long before it occurs. I wish to show (1) that her death is prepared for by suicidal attitudes established early in and repeated throughout the novel, and (2) that her suicide is caused by a severe, even pathological case of narcissism. Some critics believe that Eustacia commits suicide because of the failure of her marriage and her inability to believe in Wildeve enough to depend upon his offers of help in leaving Egdon heath. Other critics believe that her death is caused by an ironically Hardyesque accident.

If we are guided by Hardy's obtrusive editorial charity toward Eustacia, we may quite simply find ourselves believing, rather vaguely, that Eustacia does not destroy herself, but rather that she is destroyed by life – by the "cruel obstructiveness of all about her" (Hardy II 190). However, a number of critics find Hardy's view of Eustacia to be contradictory. Schweik, for example, notes that "Hardy's total picture of Eustracia involves two quite different perspectives and implies two quite different estimations of the validity of her view of life" (762). Hardy builds up his picture of Eustacia with numerous classical allusions, but "The grandeur which they evoke is more pasted on to the outside of the situation than intrinsic to it" (Carpenter 97), and Guerard finds "savage and immoral feeling" in Eustacia (*Hardy* 65).

Most of Hardy's major protagonists, with the possible exceptions of Henchard of Casterbridge and Sue Bridehead, are defeated against their will. They do not seek destruction. Eustacia Vye presents a peculiarly interesting study because of her persistent wish to destroy herself, which is grotesquely out of proportion to her wish to live. Quite early in the novel and *before* she even hears of the existence of Clym Yeobright, Eustacia makes clear that she has suicide on her mind. She develops an *"ever-growing* consciousness" [emphasis added] of the role of "Destiny", and its "Cruelty" in her life (Hardy I 82). Eustacia has never been in love. We find early in the novel that, for her; Wildeve has been primarily an object for "filling up the spare hours of her existence

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. . . for want of a better object" (I 85). She does not believe in love—it is "but a doleful joy" (I 83); nevertheless, she lives the hopeless contradiction of believing that only "love" can deliver her from her "fearful gloom". If it does not, she says, "I shall die" (I 85). She believes that "nothing is worthwhile" (I 85). Therefore, her usual pastime is to watch the sand run through her grandfather's hour-glass, as she waits passively for the time when the heath will become, in her words, "my death" (I 102) because she has "no object to live for" (I 155). She hates life; she hates Sundays especially "and often said they would be the death of her" (I 84). In her dream about the non-existent, idealized knight, she dives with him into a pool from which she emerges into a paradisal world, "an iridescent hollow, arched with rainbows" (I 144)—not at all the actual world—which she detests unremittingly. Therefore the dream seems to contain a foreshadowing of her death by drowning. Even after her engagement to Clym, she feels as if she is immersed in "stagnant water" because in her willful passiveness she "can do nothing" (II 239). Although she tells Clym that she loves him, she adds that she regrets, in her words, "that ever I was born" (I 240). When Clym injures his eyes and becomes a furze cutter and thus further lessens her hopes of moving to Paris, Eustacia feels "that death appeared the only door of relief" to her (II 71). Near the end of the novel, when Clym confronts her with her part in his mother's death, she asks if he is going to kill her—a question which obviously and naturally astounds him—she says, "I almost wish you would" (II 156). She continues, saying that for a long time she has had "no strong desire" to live (II 156) and that the hut in which is their abode would serve as well as any other place from which to pass "into my grave" (II 158).

Near the end of the novel she is convinced that she has been, she says, "Injured and blighted and crushed by things beyond my control," things which are "tortures" devised by a "Heaven" to which she has "done no harm" (II 190). A few hours later, she kill herself. In short, Eustacia attempts to confer a tawdry suicidal splendor upon herself by blaming the limitations imposed upon her by the heath, by the feckless Wildeve, by the unromantically stoic Clym, as well as by Destiny and Heaven. By pitting what she mistakenly regards as her massive passions against the universe, in suicide, she can maintain her illusion of personal grandeur in the face of a cruelly petty universe.

I will attempt to explain this suicide by examining major components of Eustacia's narcissism : apathy, grandiosity, and idealization.

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Apathy, which Greenson defines as "affectlessness" (290), or a "feeling of annihilation" (299), is typically one of the traits associated with pathological narcissism.[1] Wildeve perceives this trait in Eustacia, using the word "Hypochondriasis," somewhat inaccurately, to describe it (Hardy II 75). Wildeve's diagnosis is his response to Eustacia's statement that she is "gloomy," and that "It is in my nature . . . . It was born in my blood, I suppose" (I 75). After she marries Clym Yeobright, she feels betrayed by his failing eyesight and his refusal to take her to Paris. Her gloom deepens. Eustacia's plain derives in part from a contradiction in her thinking which she makes no attempt to resolve. Even before she meets Clym, she has made up her mind about love; "she knew by prevision what most women learn only from experience . . . that love was but a doleful joy" (I 83). However, she believes that only "a great love" can deliver her "from this fearful gloom." If it does not, she says, "I shall die" (I 83). Her contradictory dependence upon love, something in which she does not really believe, involves a basic and extremely destructive cynicism, as one notes in her comment to Wildeve that she is glad that he deserted her for Tamsin and then returned to her : "I like you to desert me a little once now and then. Love is the dismallest thing where the lover is quite honest . . . . it is a shame to say so; but it is true" (Hardy I 100). She does not believe in love, and yet she cannot bear life without it. "Love was the one cordial," Hardy says, "which could drive away the eating loneliness of her days" (Hardy I 82). Eustacia is, however, far more interested in "the abstraction called passionate love" than she is in "any particular lover" and "will snatch . . . an hour's passion from anywhere while it can be won" (Hardy I 82). Narcissist is "chronically bored, restlessly in search of instantaneous intimacy" (Lasch 40). As Benvenuto says of Eustacia, "The only real-time for her is Now" (Hardy I 87). Eustacia's problem is not that she does not live in Paris. Her problem is her character; therefore, life for Eustacia is a fearful burden. For her, apathy is a refuge, albeit an unworkable one, from this burden. In brief, apathy is a descent, "into a vortex of non being in order to avoid being" (Laing 99).

The narcissist will not struggle against apathy by engaging in empathic interests with other people (Kernberg, *Borderline Conditions* 229), for to the narcissist other people are not real. They are "devalued, shadowy images" (Lasch 39). Although her "lineliness" is so acute as to be "fearful" (Hardy I 83), she has no friends because, as she puts it, "I have not much love for my fellow-creatures. Sometimes I quite hate them" (Hardy I 227). In short, Eustacia is a woman who "feels that

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nothing is worth while" and who chronically "suffered much from depression of spirits" (I 85). Believing that "nothing is worth while," she is unable to love anything–including herself. When she hears that Clym Yeobright is returning from Paris, she becomes obsessed with meeting him, in the hope that he will help her "to shake off depression" (I 178).

After she marries Clym her apathy deepens, not only because he will not take her to Paris, and not only because he is incapacitated by eye problems, but primarily because her view of love is cynical and immature. Hornback says that what she offers Clym is a "bored sexuality [which] is nothing more subtle or complex than a child's restlessness in its inability to entertain itself" (29-30). Because her apathy is, in fact, subtle and insidious, it will become more dangerous as time passes. It will be a major cause of her death. Butler's perfervid sympathy for Eustacia makes him, like some other critics, see Eustacia as being "defenceless *because* passionate" (42). I will argue that she is so unpassionate, so apathetic, that she has been committing a kind of chronic suicide for several years in that apathy is a form of "passive suicide" (Slochower 237).

One problem incurred by relying on apathy to deaden the pain of life is that one will become increasingly haunted by feelings of annihilation and "intense feelings of emptiness" (Lasch 39). Emptiness is dangerous because it may be "equivalent to a death experience" so exquisitely painful that suicide seems the only escape" (Singer 472). Typically, the narcissist is plagued by "hollowness, deadness, nothingness, an inner void" and the "loss of sense of self" (Singer 478). One of the most telling references to Eustacia's emptiness is her statement that she has nothing, "no object to live for" (Hardy I 155). Hardy praises Eustacia extravagantly for the richness, particularly the potential richness of her character, but his praise is contradicted by most of Eustacia's words and actions. For example, Hardy does not seem to be aware of Eustacia's cynicism regarding love. If Eustacia is, as I argue, a pathological narcissist, she would most dislike that which she most needs, in this case, love; for need is a dire threat to the narcissist's grandiosity. Eustacia is "in desperate need of loving somebody after wearying of Wildeve," (Hardy I 175), but she corrupts and devalues love in wanting a lover who will desert her a little once now and then and not be quite honest. Obviously, she does not value commitment love. After winning Clym's love, which is steady although not notably passionate, she remains empty because she does not value Clym except as an object which will enable her to move to Paris. I suggest, therefore, that her "desperate need of loving somebody" indicates an emotionally disorienting emptiness in Eustacia. Although Hardy tells

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us that her "passions" are "of the massive rather than the vivacious kind" (I 155), she has in fact very little passion, for what she regards as passion is only a fantasied abstraction. When she perceives the unselfishness of Venn's love for Tamsin, she notes that Venn's is "a strange sort of love," for in her opinion selfishness is "frequently the chief constituent of the passion, and sometimes the only one . . . and she thought it [his love] almost absurd" (I 187). In all, her "response to life" is "perverse and selfish" (Hornback 30). Her cynicism and the narrowness of her idea of love equip her poorly for the task of fulfilling "the vision of some marriage of inexpressible glory" (Hardy I 187), Although she "had got beyond" hope for such a marriage, she "cared for no meaner union" (Hardy I 187). The grandiosity of this vision exists in proportion to Eustacia's sense of emptiness and deprivation.

Greenson has observed that a feeling of "deprivation over a long period of time results in the development of apathy" (292). Eustacia's feeling of deprivation is disproportionate and monomaniac. Her "visions of a glamorous life at Budmouth, or better, in Paris, constitute an obsession" (Carpenter 94) in the clinical sense of the word. Her belief that life—the heath, is, as she expresses it, "my cross, my shame, and . . . my death" (I 102), derives not from real loss and ill-treatment. It derives from a vaguely expressed but acutely felt notion that she should rightly have royal status. Hardy is not being ironic in suggesting that Eustacia might possibly have aristocratic ancestry, adding that "The only way to look queenly without realms or hearts to queen it over is to look as if you had lost them; and Eustacia did that to a triumpth" (I 83). Evan Sam is aware of the aura of former lofty status which Eustacia manages to convey. "Her thoughts," he says, are "with lords and ladies she'll never know, and mansions she'll never see *again*" (I 219; emphasis added). Eustacia's chronic feeling of loss is caused by a lack of special, perhaps aristocratic status for herself. It is this that makes her, when she thinks of "Destiny," have "an ever-growing consciousness of cruelty" (I 82). Near the end of her life, she lives in a farmer's cottage with a man who loves her but who has no social pretentions. Feeling yet again her former attraction to the now well-to-do Wildeve, whom she still regards as being beneath her, she cries out, "O, the cruelty of putting me into this ill-conceived world ! I was capable of much; but I have been injured and blighted and crushed by things beyond my control" (II 190). Perhaps Eustacia was really "capable of much," but the reader does not know what this "much" is. It is certainly not love. The reality is that Eustacia has never been badly treated by anyone or anything, except perhaps the weak and foolish Wildeve, whom she dominates. However, to Eustacia deprivation is equivalent to active and deliberate persecution : "O,

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how hard it is of Heaven to devise such tortures for me, who have done no harm to Heaven at all !" (II 190)

II

For apathy and its concomitant emptiness, as well as for feelings of deprivation, the narcissist compensates with images of "grandiosity," which is one of the main Characteristics of the narcissist (Kernberg, *Borderline Conditions* 228). "Fantasies of power and greatness . . . become central in (the narcissist's) compensatory efforts" (*Borderline Conditions* 228). Because she longs for a love in which she does not believe and for which she has an ill-concealed contempt, Eustacia's "high gods" are not the gods of love but rather "William the Conqueror, Strafford, and Napoleon Buonaparte" (Hardy I 82). Eustacia has "lost the godlike conceit that we may do what we will," but she has failed to develop "a homely zest for doing what we can" (I 84). Hardy, however, sees this lack in her not as a failure but as something that denotes a "grandeur of temperament" which he admires, for it "forswears compromise" (I 84). What is actually uncompromising here is Eustacia's ego-ideal, which in the narcissist has a "most uncompromising influence on conduct" (Menaker 250), so much so that if the ego-ideal cannot have what it wants, it will demand the narcissist's life : "One dies for one's ego-ideal rather than let it die" (259). I hope to show, very simply, that if Eustacia had valued her life more than she valued her grandiosity, she would not have committed suicide.

When Wildeve offers her financial help so that she can leave Egdon forever, he tells her that he will allow her to make her own conditions. He does not insist on accompanying her, but she cannot accept this help because "of pride" (Hardy II 188). Eustacia's pride is really hubristic contempt for her life. She rejects his offer, for to accept it would be a "humiliation" simply because "He's not *great* enough for me," she says. "If he had been a Saul of a Bonaparte—ah !" (II 190). But why shoud his lack of greatness matter if he is not accompany her ? The failure of logic here implies, very simply, that Eustacia prefers death to life, even life away from Egdon.

Eustacia is quick to feel humiliated because of her snobbish grandiosity. Seeing Clym patiently working as a furze cutter during his convalescence "was degrading to her" (II 64), and she lets him know that such is the case. She is blankly unaware that she is deficient in empathy; for among the chief qualities of narcissism are "self-centeredness [and a lack of] empathy" (Kernberg, *Borderline Conditions* 228). Eustacia's grandiosity tells her that she is trying "to be a splendid woman" (II 190), but her idea of splendor is based on an empty conception devoid of any notion of the tragic or the moral life. "All persons of refinement have been scared away from me since I

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sank into the mire of marriage," (II 158) she tells Clym. This is patently a lie, for she knows that there are not any persons of refinement, in her sense of the word, in Egdon; and that is one of the reasons she hates living there. Although before their marriage Clym has told her that he would not take her to Paris to live, she tells another lie in saying to him, "You deceived me" (II 158). "I have lost all through you," she tells him. "Your blunders and misfortunes may have been a sorrow to you, but they have been a wrong to me" (II 158), a statement that is not necessarily a lie, but it is a radical distortion of facts because of the implication that Clym himself has wronged her.

In these accusations against Clym, one observes the weak moral sense that is typical of the narcissist, who is exploitive without conscious guilt feelings, and who presents a "surface which is very often charming and engaging," over a subsurface which contains "coldness and ruthlessness" (Kernberg, *Borderline Conditions* 228). There can surely be little doubt that Eustacia chooses, as it were, to fall in love with Clym because in the desperation of her apathy and emptiness she hopes that he will "deliver her soul from a most deadly oppression" (Hardy I 161). In disguise, she exchanges a few words with him at the Christmas party and that night becomes "determined to love him, chiefly because she was in desperate need of loving somebody after wearing of Wildeve" (1 174). "Having predetermined to nourish a passion" for Clym (I 174), she tells him that she will marry him if he will "go back again" to Paris (I 242). Returning to Paris would, he says, "interfere with my [education] scheme. Don't press that, Eustacia," to which Eustacia rashly replies, "You will never adhere to your education plan . . . . and so I promise to be yours for ever and ever" (I 242). However, she then tells him unequivocally that her love for him is not contingent upon living in Paris : "I would rather live with you in a hermitage here than not be yours at all" (I 243). Clearly, Eustacia's statement to Clym that he deceived her and pulled her down into the mire of marriage is a self-serving lie, for which she feels no conscious guilt because of her overweening sense of grandiosity and entitlement.

III

People with "narcissistic personality disorders feel entitled to have what they want just because they want it" (Rothstein 67), but if they get it they devalue it, the result being "a constant experience of emptiness" (Kernberg, *Borderline Conditions* 237). The narcissist's life reveals a repetitive and unremitting pattern of idealizations and devaluations which eventually leave the narcissist so hopeless that suicide may seem to be the only way left to affirm allegiance to the ego-ideal. The unreality of Eustacia's idealizations derives from the narcissism

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invested in her ego-ideal. The normal gives "meaning to . . . life (and provides) self-esteem" (Menaker 249). The purpose of the normal ego is to "support the ego in its attempt to deal with the inevitable disappointments and frustrations of life" (250). The narcissistic ego-ideal, however, turns normal aspirations and ideals into destructively idealized images of "perfection and omnipotence" (Jasovic-Gasic and Vesel 371), as well as "grandiosity [and] extreme self-centeredness" (Kernberg, *Borderline Conditions* 228). Such an ego-ideal so dominates the personality that in cases of radically extreme and despairing frustration "one dies for one's ego-ideal rather than let it die" (Menaker 259). The pathological ego-ideal demands that the narcissist see nothing as real but the ego-ideal itself. (Thus, the ego-ideal causes the narcissist to be chronically and violently bored as well as profoundly hopeless). The novel makes clear that Eustacia idealizes Wildeve because, although she presumably feels some sexual attraction to him, the idealized image gives her a sense of power. When the reader first sees Wildeve and Eustacia, she has called Wildeve to her because she believes that he loves her so much that he has decided, that day, not to marry Tamsin. Therefore, when he arrives Eustacia feels a "triumphant pleasure" in the mistaken belief that Wildeve is a "wondrous thing she had created out of chaos" (Hardy I 72). Much to Eustacia's disappointment, Wildeve equivocates about the reason for his not having married Tamsin; nevertheless, Eustacia knows that she has some power over him and she exults in it : "I was dull, and thought I would get a little excitement by calling you up and triumphing over you" (I 76). This passage makes clear that Eustacia idealizes Wildeve out of dullness, i.e., apathy. Thus we see her "filling up the spare hours of her existence by idealizing Wildeve for want of a better object" (I 85).

When Eustacia hears that Clym is returning from Paris, she begins "a desperate clawing for love, in Guerard's phrase (*Hardy* 65); that is to say, she begins the process of idealizing Clym, even though she has not met him, in the hope that he might be able to deliver her from "a most deadly oppression" (I 161). In disguise, she exchanges a few words with him and finds herself "inclined to adore him . . . determined to love him" (I 175). The narcissist insists that people whom they idealize have "omnipotent powers" (Lasch 84). As her dream about him reveals, she needs Clym to be more, even, than a knight in "silver armour" (Hardy I 144), for in her dream she makes him god-like figure who makes her feel "like a woman in Paradise." However when he removes his casque to kiss her, he falls into "fragments like a pack of cards" (I 144). The dream shows that her unconscious knowledge that, not being omnipotent or even grand, he will frustrate her wishes and that she will then devalue him, as

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indeed she does. When he refuses to take her to Paris to live, she despises him. Narcissists often depreciate "and treat with contempt . . . their former idols" (Kernberg, *Borderline Conditions* 228). Clearly, Clym is little more to her than an object to idealize and devalue; as a human being he is hardly real at all. She answers in the affirmative when he says, "I suppose when you first saw me and heard about me I was wrapped in a sort of golden halo to your eyes" (II 70). Having seen that he is not exotically heroic, she does not feel great pain and sorrow over lost love, for she has never actually loved him. Instead, she feels "sick despair" (II 66), for she has no inner resources. Therefore, instead of questioning her values or in any way reviewing her decisions, she blames Clym for alleged deceit. She also "laid the fault upon the shoulders of some indistinct, colossal Prince of the World, who had framed her situation and ruled her lot" (II 121).

IV

Most critics agree that Eustacia's death is "probably . . . a suicide" (Carpenter 95). Zellefrow provides a summary of the criticism on the subject, a discussion of the novel's topography, and an analysis of Hardy's map of the area containing the weir in which Eustacia drowns. Having studied the topography and the map in detail, Zellefrow concludes that Eustacia's drowning is a "conscious choice" (217). I am suggesting here that her suicide is caused by her narcissism, one component of which is her hatred for the world in its indifference to her grandiose claims.

Many critics believe that Eustacia commits suicide because of the failure of her relationship with Clym (and attendant accidents such as the misplacing of Clym's letter requesting reconcilation). The problem, however, is not that Euastacia has made the wrong marriage, but that she is the wrong person. There are many reasons to believe that, had Clym taken her to Paris to live, she would have been miserable. As the wife of a mere employee in a jewelry company, she would no doubt have continued to yearn for aristocratic if not actual supernal status. Although the editorial Hardy seems to admire Eustacia for the supra-mundane proclivities in her character, the fact is that they reveal her deadly contempt for her actual humanness.

Eustacia is dangerously hubristic in having "the passions and instincts which make a model goddess" (I 78). Although Hardy tells us repeatedly that Eustacia longs for love, she has a supercilious and haughty attitude toward it: Her mouth seems formed "less to kiss than to curl" (I 79). Hardy associates her with "Artemis, Athena, or

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Hera," with "celestial imperiousness," and "majesty" (I 80). In asking where her "dignity" comes from, Hardy seriously suggests that it might have come from "Alcinous' line" or from "Fitzalan and De Vere." Perhaps, he adds, "it was the gift of heaven" (I 82). Her fancy that she once had the status suggested by these associations to "realms and hearts" is so much a part of her pathology that she looks "queenly," as if she "had lost them" (I 80). Thus it is that "Her presence brought memories of such things as Bourbon roses, rubies and tropical midnights" (I 79). Obviously, such a woman would never be content with a mere man such as Clym Yeobright.

Eustacia's moods evoke not only Bourbon roses, rubies, and tropical midnights, but also the "lotus-eaters" (I 80), who are traditionally associated with a narcotic apathy and indifference to humankind. As Rollo May points out, apathy, "a-pathos," is an anomic "withdrawal of feeling," for human beings, and for the real world (30). If one wonders why Eustacia does not try to make the best of life with Clym, the answer on one level is very simple. She cares nothing for life : "Apathy is the withdrawal of love and will . . . a suspension of commitment" (May 33). Furthermore, "apathy provokes violence" (May 30) against the self or others or both. Her violence against Clym consists of radical deceit and manipulation. Apathy *per se* is violence against the self in that it is a form of "passive suicide" (Slochower 237) in which "libido is withdrawn from the body and invested in the ego" (Lowen 33) so that the narcissist willingly kills the body in order to serve the ego-ideal of perfection.

Eustacia's suicide is reflexively apathetic act of rage and revenge against the alleged cruelty of Destiny, as well as a final gesture of hopelessness. In Egdon, Eustacia has a physically easy life; unlike most of the other heath people, she has no duties whatever to perform, and no one, including Clym, makes any emotional demands upon her. She has no creativity, no talents or gifts that require expression. Her bitter, unremitting, and progressively increasing hatred of the heath can, therefore, be explained by her grandiose sense of entitlement. She hates the heath because it—and not her bad choices— is her Destiny. It is her fate.[2] The heath is, in her words, "my cross" (I 102), and because it is humiliatingly devoid of the mythically exotic, it is, she says, "my shame" (I 102). It will be, she says also, "my death" (I 102). There is, however, a less obvious meaning here. Eustacia hates the heath because it gives her nothing that she values. She believes early on that the mythic world which she has idealized might open up to her with the return of Clym from Paris, but it does not. Because the mythic world of gods and heroes will not validate her grandiose entitlement, her self-hatred is exacerbated. In other words, narcissism is "a psychic

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formation in which love rejected turns back to the self as hatred" (Lasch 34). To put it another way, "The self withdraws from and at the same time identifies with the loved and hated object [i.e., Eustacia's mythic world] and then hates itself" (Sugerman 132). When her idealized world rejects her, she is left in the world she hates, the world of "fearfully malignant . . . other things" (II 190). She thinks this world would await her and crush her if she were to escape Edgon and go somewhere else to live. Eustacia will therefore vent her rage and hatred against the world by destroying it in the act of destroying herself. This simultaneous double murder can occur because "destruction of the self becomes equivalent to . . . disappearance of the entire world" (Kernberg, *Severe Personality Disorders* 293). The equivalence between destroyed self and destroyed world is made possible by the fact that the world has "been incorporated" by the narcissist, who can then destroy both self and world by committing suicide— "*im Selbstmordet*" (Klussman and Wallmuller-Strycher 166).[3] To put the matter more simply, when narcissistic rage is "turned inward," it becomes an "internal saboteur" with which we "love outselves to death" (Sugerman 22).

More simply, her belief that the world is hateful toward her can be explained by the mechanism of projection, for "projection of oral rage . . . is central [the] pscychopathology of the narcissist" (Kernberg, *Borderline Conditions* 228). If Eustacia is indeed made of heroic stuff, as Hardy frequently says she is, why does she prefer death to testing, with the aid of Wildeve's money, her ideals against the world ? The truth is that she wants revenge against the world (i.e., suicide) far more than she wants life, love, and pleasure in it. In this way she presents the typical narcissistic image of a "hungry, enraged, empty self . . . fearful of a world which seems as hateful and revengeful" as the narcissist is (Kernberg, *Borderline Conditions* 223).

Admittedly, Eustacia does not say that she wants vengeance, but the role of vengeance in the dynamics of suicidal narcissism is clearly implied in her angry accusations regarding the cruelty of Destiny. What Eustacia wants in greatness, but behind this puerile and adolescent wich lie hidden rage and hatred against life. Eustacia rejects Clym's offer to reconciliation for much the same reason that she rejects Wildeve's offer of financial help—her wish for vengeane and greatness Clym will be reconciled with her, he says, if she will "Tell all" (Hardy II 160) about Wildeve's presence in the house on the day of Clym's mother's death. Common decency requires that she explains the matter, but she does not want a reconciliation. She has another place to go, she says, even though Wildeve has not yet made his offer. This other place is her grandfather's house, or, she says, "*else*where".

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(II 161) Elsewhere, obviously, is death, which will provide her an escape from the ordinariness of a life with Clym and will confer upon her what she conceives of as high tragedy, grandeur.

V

In suicide, Eustacia seems to feel a triumph over the life that she so hates. The description of the expression on her dead face indicates that she has achieved a kind of fulfillment. "The expression of her finely carved mouth was pleasant," and there is a slight suggestion of "fervour" in her features (Hardy II 216-7). Kernberg says that narcissistic suicide may express not only hatred but a "calm, determined, even elated attitude." *(Severe Personality Disorders* 292) because "when actively performed (suicide) becomes a triumph, as if the ego had proved itself almighty when it is strong enough to cast life aside" (Eissler 392). In all, the novel gives us little reason to believe that Eustacia is too sensitive and passionate, and thus too vulnerable, to live. She is vulnerable largely because her narcissism makes her death-oriented. It makes her will weak and her illusions foolish.

I do not wish to establish Eustacia Vye as merely a sick person who can be dismissed after diagnosis. *The Return of the Native* resists any one approach to its richness and complexity. The analysis presented here does not, obviously, describe the entire personhood of Eustacia. It describes only her illness. My analysis does not attempt to evoke the pathos of the fact that Eustacia is a victim of her illness. She is also a victim of the pitiable smallness of life allowed by the heath. Therefore, I do not wish to denigrate Hardy's sympathy for Eustacia's suffering. It is a critical platitude, but an important one nonetheless, that what Hardy most wanted for his protagonists was for them to be happy.

NOTES

1. For additional study of this matter, please see my "Emma Bovary's Narcissism, Ego-Ideal, and Suicide." *American Imago* 44 : 2 (1987) : 107—128.

2. Divad Cecil says that "Fate is her enemy" (29); he says also that her fight for happiness is "unscrupulous" (27), which suggests that something in her character is also her enemy.

3. *"Kann diese Phantasie nicht aufrecht erhalted bleiben—wie bei unserem Patienten so deutlich ist—dann bricht die Abwehrformation zusammen; das narzisstische Object hat gleichsam versagt, es wird deshalb—im Selbst-mordet"* (Klussman and Wallmuller-Strycher 166).

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STRATEGIES OF SELF-DEFENCE : SELF-REFLEXIVITY IN *FRANNY AND ZOOEY*

Jaidev

"He's *completely* destructive."

Franny of Zooey in *Franny and Zooey*

Salinger is perhaps the most competent of all contemporary American fictionists. The two stories which comprise *Franny and Zooey* (1961) are prefect formal pieces. There is nothing clumsy about them, and a second reading convinces the reader that an extraordinary amount of stylistic and formal virtuosity has gone into organising and shaping them. This paper assumes that the text can keep a formalist scholar busy for quite some time discovering how various—significant and not so significant—motifs and details are orchestrated extremely cleverly by Salinger to effect a well-wrought urn.[1] There is a rich interplay of motifs at several levels—verbal, character, thematic, structural and narrational—and indeed such is their centripetal force that the reader finds it hard to see the text except in the terms it posits for its 'pertinent' contemplation. These terms are formal and bring aesthetic pleasure. The text is a pleasant one, and to many it might appear to be even a profound one, for it does drop a number of hints on issues as profound as the karma theory, the right way to act, the right way to pray, and even the mystical significance of chain-smoking. All Glass stories are built around a fantasy core which is pleasantly, teasingly indeterminate or elusive but which is normalised through a barrage of sharp realistic touches as well as through a normal narrational tone. The elusiveness surrounding the core can also keep a scholar intrigued and busy—for Seymour and the otherwise ones in the family may be an elaborate joke but alternatively they may be a set of seers.

Franny and Zooey is also a well-made comedy of manners. It avoids, as a matter of principle, getting too close to anything that can disturb or disquiet the reader. In that sense, for all those blanket attacks on phonies in the Glass stories as well as in *The Catcher in the Rye*, Salinger eschews bitterness and satire. *Franny and Zooey* is ideologically nice to America in genral and to New Yark in particular. There are too many phonies there, but then they are a universal phenomenon; and in any case, given the Glasses for the observers, the world is bound to appear only a melange of phonies. These phonies are also necessary if only as a means of making the Glasses stand out as unique, almost mythical. The book has a comforting resolution which

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has for its recipe a smart, sentimental teleology, and if this teleology sounds false and contrived, it does not look anomalous, given the fantasy core. The success of the book has been a deserved one, especially in the USA which lacks but craves a mythology, even if it is to be an assembled, intellectually 'play-giarised' one. The book endears itself to a specific kind of audience—rather young, stylish, comfortable and smug, consumerist, fashionably but only superficially discontented—whom it offers precisely the commodity it seeks in cultural super-markets—not salvation but the illusion of salvation, a false but slick, cosy, attractively-packaged, undemanding 'myth' of salvation.[2] It is not my intention to criticise the book on this score—for an audience gets the kind of mythology or salvation it deserves or can afford. However, it is probable that this function of Salinger explains his importance for American culture. There may be a rather crushing irony to this function, but I shall come to it towards the end of this paper.

The specific issues to which this paper addresses itself are related to a set of authorial practices and gestures in *Franny and Zooey* of which some are legitimate but others are dubious to the extent of deserving the adjective political or manipulative. Broadly speaking, these are intertextuality, self-reflexivity, and the reader's co-option into the Glass family (which includes Salinger) and against the world to which he or she actually belongs. All the three practices are anti-realistic, introverted in the formal sense of the word, and as such their presence places a question mark against realism which the book does employ in good measure. It is hoped that the discussion will lead to a better understanding of Salinger's ideology as a writer and of why the fantasy core satisfies many readers as much as it does.

Allusions as Insinuations : *Franny and Zooey* as an Intertext

Franny and Zooey abound with allusions to authors and texts. This is largely due to the fact that the text deals with characters who are thoroughly soaked in literature. "Franny" opens with a remark about Rilke when a classmate approaches Lane and asks him if he knows "what this bastard Rilke is all about" (p.11). Also, Franny's letter which Lane is fondly re-reading contains references to Eliot and Sappho. During the lunch which turns a fiasco, Franny speaks feverishly against the section men in her department whose joy consists in ruining great authors like Stendhal and Turgenev for the students. For his part, Lane speaks approvingly of the "good guys" like Tolstoy, Dostoevski, and Shakespeare, and debunks the neurotic *mot juste* of Flaubert. Also, two books, *The Way of a Pilgrim* and *The Pilgrim Continues His Way*, by an anonymous nineteenth-century Russian religious writer are discussed in quite some detail first by

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Franny who is enthusiastic about them, and later on by Zooey who is rather unimpressed by them. "Zooey," too, opens with an old letter written to Zooey by his eldest surviving brother, Buddy. In this oft-read letter, besides Chekhov, Shakespeare, Blake, Whitman and Mueller, many philosophers and mystics including Lao-Tse, Shankaracharya, Huineng and Sri Ramakrishna are alluded to. Zooey's climactic act, in which he begins by impersonating Buddy on telephone, involves his reading quotations from over a dozen texts which were copied by Seymour and Buddy on their beaverboard. The suggestion is that Seymour is the seer-mediator between Zooey the novice and the great seers of the past. Since the quotations were also copied by Buddy, he similarly becomes a wise mediator (by lending his voice) between Zooey and Franny.

The echo-chamber effect produced by allusions and quotations makes *Franny and Zooey* a very pronounced intertext. The allusions are functional in that they give us information about the kind of people the Glasses are and the kind of culture they have. Indeed, several allusions are firmly rooted in characterizations. Thus, the young fellow who refers to "this bastard Rilke" reveals more of himself than of Rilke. He is obviously a trendy person who does not respond deeply to literature. Even when a character just 'drops' literary names, the latter become a means of characterising him through the attitude he manifests in 'dropping' them. This is a legitimate use of intertextuality. Another is for clarifying the generic intention of the text. Thus, at two places in 'Zooey' there are descriptions of books stacked indiscriminately in the house of the Glasses. In the first discription, Buddy takes extra pains to tell that the living room is literally jammed with books.

> A cordon of waist-high bookcases lined three walls, their shelves cram-jammed and literally sagging with books—children's books, textbooks, second-hand books, Book Club books, plus an even more heterogeneous overflow from less communal 'annexes' of the apartment. ('Dracula' now stood next to 'Elementary Pali', 'The Boy Allies at the Somme' stood next to 'Bolts to Melody', 'The Scarab Murder Case', and 'The Idiot' were together, 'Nancy Drew and the Hidden Staircase' lay on top of 'Fear and Trembling'). (pp. 96-97; see also the extended description of Seymour's and Buddy's old room with its intertextual beaverboard, pp. 137-41).

Anomalous and ironical juxtapositions of the low literary texts with the classics create humour but they also clarify the nature of Salinger's text. Self-reflexively, they refer to the bricks of varied types

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that he in the manner of a bricoleur has gathered to construct this text. A murder mystery and a novel of Dostoevsky and strange partners, but it is worth noting that the Salinger text too dabbles in mystery motifs; indeed, for that matter, *The Idiot* also uses many of them. It is deliberate on Salinger's part that Franny's book (p. 13) should be made more and more mysterious (she evades Lane's queries until it begins to seem that the book might be something shameful) before being discussed in some detail. The reader, like Lane, is shown a glimpse of the book but is deprived of information; Franny's evasive replies only deepen the mystery. In fact, Franny literally jumps in fear when Lane repeats his question about the book. If some books in the living room suggest the Gothic, *Franny and Zooey*, without being Gothic, nevertheless includes references to ghosts and the haunted house. Seymour and Buddy are compared by Zooey to a dead ghost and a half-dead ghost respectively (p. 84), and the house is described as a haunted one (p. 123). In a sense, it is possible to treat the Glass stories a variation on marvellous tales.

The point about books in *Franny and Zooey* is the same as in Salinger's story "Hapoworth 16, 1924." The books are not just decorations, they have been read and are remembered. This point relates to Salinger as well as to the Glasses. The reader is supposed to bring respect to people who have read so much, so fast, so well. They are more than a match to the most voracious reader. The reader is at once coerced and made to feel privileged for being with them, and while the coercion is genuine, the privilege comes easy for on the whole Salinger's text seldom sends the reader to a library in search of the titles mentioned but makes it easy for him by offering quotations and summaries. This is dubious, if only because his privilege of 'being' with them is not, cannot be, without the concomitant feeling in him that he knows so much through Salinger and the Glasses, at second-hand and in so convenient a way. A Salinger devotee will perhaps discover several plausible formal justifications for each literary name-dropping, but it seems that their function, at least in part, is also to subdue the reader into gratefulness for being offered a fast, comfortable conducted tour of the wisdom of the world. He may feel very wise after reading Salinger, who knows ! Such a vast reading has yet another function. It makes the Glasses *the* most dependable judges of literary value. The scholars and ciritics only analyse and therefore destroy literature, as is clear from Franny's debunking of the section men and several professors, but the Glasses know what is a true poem and what is not. The reader has to quietly accept that the poems left by Seymour (some are paraphrased, discussed and admired in "Seymour : An Introduction" somewhat in a fashion that recalls John

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Shade in Nabokov's *Pale Fire;* in "Zooey" one of Seymour's poems is quoted, but sadly, to this scholar, it appears not worth-analysing) are masterpieces because, and we are to take it without questioning, Seymour is one of the truly four or five "non-expendable poets".[3] One feels uncomfortable with such arbitrary intellectual terrorism, but one's option is either to stay with the Glasses on *their* terms or be ready to be condemned to the circle occupied by Lane and the section men. Some coercion indeed ! One may feel, though, there ought to be more choices.

One particular intertextual episode deserves to be 'analysed' in detail. This is centred around Lane's pretentious incisive, Flaubert paper in which he has obtained an A from a Flaubert specialist. The paper is an attempt to relate Flaubert's *mot juste* with his neurotic obsessions. Lane would like Franny to hear him read the paper to her. His superficial disclaimers notwithstanding, he believes—and wants Franny to believe—that the incisive paper is an earth-shaking event in the world of Flaubert scholarship

> 'I mean I didn't say anything too goddam world-shaking or anything like that.' He shifted his position in the chair. 'But—I don't know—I think the emphasis I put on *why* he was so neurotically attracted to the *mot juste* wasn't too bad. I mean in the light of what we know today. Not just psychoanalysis and all that crap, but certainly to a certain extent. You know what I mean. I'm no Freudian man or anything like that, but certain things you can't just pass over as capital-F Freudian and let them go at that. I mean to a certain extent I was perfectly justified to point out that none of the really good boys—Tolstoy, Dostoevski, Shakespeare, for Chrissake—were such goddam word-squeezers. They just *wrote*. Know what I mean ? Lane looked at Franny somewhat expectantly. She seemed to him to have been listening with extra-special intentness.
>
> 'You going to eat your olive, or what ?' (p. 16)

The whole scene is an effective exercise in Flaubertian irony. Style is set against style here : for the attack on Flaubert's *mot juste* is launched by one whose own style is extremely clumsy and untidy (e.g. in "certainly to a certain extent"). Lane does not realize that one does not become a good guy by being so totally 'innocent' of words or their purpose. This is one way Salinger the devotee of style deflates the judgemental pretensions of this pseudo-Freudin scholar. Moreover, the way Franny's abrupt question about the olive destroys the effect of Lane's lousy rhetoric is equally Flaubertian. The method here is a

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'repetition' of Flaubert's in the celebrated Agriculture Show in *Madame Bovary* where bits from the Chairman's speech ('Manure' and 'seventy francs,' for example) intrude devastatingly into Rodolphe's high-sounding romantic cliches.

> While Rodolphe was talking to Madame Bovary about dreams, presentiments and magestic attraction, the speaker went back to the infancy of society, to those savage times when men lived on acorns in the heart of great forests ... Rodolphe had led on gradually from magnetism to affinities; and while the Chairman alluded to Cincinnatus at his plough ... the young man was explaining to the young woman that the cause of these irresistible attractions lay in some previous existence.
>
> 'We, now, why did we meet ? What turn of fate decreed it ? Was it not that, like two rivers gradually converging across the intervening distance, our own natures propelled us towards one another ?
>
> He took her hand, and she did not withdraw it.
>
> 'General Prize !' cried the Chairman.
>
> 'Just now, for instance, when I came to call on you ...'
>
> 'Monsieur Bizet of Quincampoix.'
>
> '.... how could I know that I should escort you here ?'
>
> 'Seventy francs !'
>
> 'And I've stayed with you, because I couldn't tear myself away, though I've tried a hundred times.'
>
> 'Manure !'[4]

Rodolphe's bogus romanticism is judged for what it is worth : seventy francs or manure, by juxtaposing it with the bits of a different register. Salinger similarly mixes Franny's register with Lane's and the result is that the latter is dramatically collasped.

However, intertextuality in the Flaubert paper scene has an additional and loaded self-reflexive implication which suggests a how-to-eat-your-cake-and-keep-it-too kind of attitude. The reader is here offered three different positions on Salinger himself. The most obvious is that Salinger is the Flaubert of American fiction, and considering that style is foregrounded everywhere in his fiction, perhaps it is reasonable to assume that the Flaubert paper scene functions to stress the elective affinities Salinger feels towards Flaubert. One is supposed to

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uncritically accept this suggestion. More important is the second suggestion : Lane being as superficial and unmeaning as he is, perhaps the polarity he introduces (involving Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Shakespeare on one side and Flaubert on the other) is false, and one could be both profound like the former and precise and elegant like the latter. Seen thus, Salinger wishes us to consider the possibilty that he might be both a latter-day Flaubert and a latter-day Tolstoy, Dostoevsky or Shakespeare. One can take this suggestion the way one wants to or can. It is unnecessary for me to waste an opinion on this, but the interesting thing here is that the text points to the very highest names to choose from for placing Salinger. Intertextuality at the self-reflexive level functions to announce Salinger's ambitions through such insinuations. The logic is dubious. Lane's style is not Salinger's which is closer to Franny's and Buddy's (a fact which becomes evident once we note that there is not much qualitative difference between the styles of the narrator in "Franny" and Buddy Glass's in "Zooney"); Lane's style is bad and a travesty of Flaubert's *mot juste;* Salinger mocks Lane's style; and hence, Salinger's style is similar to Flaubert's. The fallacy here is obvious : no other possibility is visualized over the vast space that separates Lane and Flaubert, as if not to be Lane is to be Flaubert !

The third suggestion is not quite offered : It can be gathered through a deconstructive reading of the Flaubert paper scene. As a matter of fact, this is not a suggestion but an anxiety in Salinger. Lane, the clumsy, might have articulated some central truths about Salinger himself, of course without knowing it. The procedure is not uncommon in fiction. A wholly unlikeable character might be given crucial truths to voice. Salinger has a good, elegant, attractive style, but perhaps the style is not a substitute for the greatness one associates with names like Dostoevsky, Tolstoy and Shakespeare. The anxiety is : is style enough ? And the answer, the terrible answer, is that even in Flaubert style is not everything, just as it is not true that Dostoevsky, Tolstoy or Shakespeare lacked style because they were profound as well as prolific. This anxiety must not be communicated to the reader, if he has to be convinced that, true to the promise made by the feast of allusions, in reading Salinger he is encountering someone as profound as the very great ones and in a style that is as elegant as Flaubert's. A cover-up operation is necessary, and the ostentatious literary allusions form one part of this operation. Name-dropping is actually practised and is possibly effective on those who have no time, talent or patience to devote themselves to a serious study of great classics. Salinger must know, since he has read them all, and accordingly he must be in a position to stand up to any or all of them, nuance for nuance. What it

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must feel like to have such a simple, credulous, manageable audience is another question, but before tackling that, I would like to focus on another part of the cover-up operation, namely self-reflexivity.

II

Self-reflexivity : Self-definition as Self-defence

In *Franny and Zooey* the logic which is initiated by intertextuality is continued through self-reflexivity. The most pronounced metafictional details occur at the beginning of "Zooey" in which Buddy the narrator who introduces the narrative as a "prose home movie" (p. 43) not only gives a brief summary of the different Glasses' careers in a footnote but also anticipates the narrative's possible criticism by attributing it to the three principal Glass characters themselves : "It's the leading man [Zooey] , however, who has made the most eloquent appeal to me to call off the production. *He* feels that the plot hinges on mysticism, or religious mystification—in any case, he makes it very clear, a too vividly apparent transcendent element of sorts . . . can only expedite . . . my professional undoing . . . . I say that my current offering isn't a mystical story, or a religiously mystifying story, at all. I *say* it's a compound, or multiple, love story, pure and complicated" (p. 44). This is self-consciousness as a pre-emptive device, for what Buddy is doing is trying to disqualify the reader from being critical; the rationale is that the reader need not make criticisms because they have already been made by the characters themselves. Secondly, Buddy carefully pre-empts another kind of criticism. The reader need not mind his unreliability, for he of course is unreliable and is partial to his relations. The rationale for this is that the offering is actually meant for home consumption. In fact, in "Seymour : An Introduction," Buddy facetiously asks the reader to leave the book if he would not take his not altogether reliable opinions as part of the deal (***Raise High***, pp. 78-79). The same facetiousness is evident at the beginning of "Zooey" as well. It is questionable if by naming a criticism yourself you really erase it. As for the metaphor of prose home movie, one wonders if it is anything more than a catchy phrase. Consider the following 'close up' of Mrs. Glass.

> Mrs. Glass, who had resumed starting at the blue bathmat, gave an absent-minded nod at this 'fair warning'. And at that instant, more than just mentionably, had Zooey seen her face, and particularly her eyes, he might have had a strong impulse,

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passing or not, to recall, or reconstruct, or reinflect the greater part of his share of the conversation that had passed between them—to temper it, to soften it. On the other hand, he might not have. It was a very touch-and-go business, in 1955, to get a wholly plausible reading from Mrs. Glass's face, and especially from her emormous blue eyes. Where once, a few years earlier, her eyes alone could break the news . . . that two of her sons were dead . . . with an eloquence and a seeming passion for detail that neither her husband nor any of her adult surviving children could bear to look at, let alone take in, now, in 1955, she was apt to use this same Celtic equipment to break the news, usually at the front door, that the new delivery boy hadn't brought the leg of lamb in time for dinner or that some remote Hollywood starlet's marriage was on the rocks. (pp. 74-75; cf. also this from "Franny" which apparently comes from the authorial narrator : "She smiled at Lane—in a sense genuinely—and at that moment a smile in return might at least have mitigated to some small extent certain events that were to follow, but Lane was busy affecting a brand of detachment of his own, and chose not to smile back" [p. 19]).

Magnificent though it is, the close-up of Mrs. Glass is not plausible for Buddy to manage. For by his own admission, his narrative is an edited version of several instalments he received from the principal actors. Now, her look or the especial Celtic intensity in her eyes could not have been noticed by Mrs. Glass herself; and Zooey did not look at her. So, clearly the passage is a stroke by Buddy. And while one does not resent him his visual imagination, one notices in the close-up a curious mixture of self-consciousness, egotism, tenderness, irony, and cautiousness. For one thing, it reinforces the deferential hierarchy in which the Glass children are situated. They are all wise children, but between themselves, it seems, seniority by years is also suggestive of their relative wisdom. Seymour was the wisest, but now Buddy is the wisest. Hence, he can imagine where Zooey's failure occurred with regard to Mother, just as his failure with regard to Franny owes something to his direct approach to her—without the blessings, as it were, of Seymour and Buddy. This by itself may not suggest egotism, but considering that Buddy is making the narrative, together with several other self-privileging details like the decision to open the narrative with his own letter and the resolution of the conflict for which Zooey has to go to Buddy's room and use Buddy's voice, it does happen to be close enough to egotism and narcissism, both assuming a disquieting Freudian air since Zooey the handsome and Buddy the superior can be seen contending between themselves for an approach

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to their mother and sister; the Glass stories have any number of incestuous motifs. For another thing, Buddy the movie-maker works by allotting at least one strong moment to each of the actors. The close-up constitutes her moment. Buddy as the narrator gets his in the letter as well as in his impersonation by Zooey. In any case, Buddy plays a Prospero-like distributor of equal emphasis to each character. Zooey takes note of the strong exit like which Mrs. Glass delivers while leaving the bath. The detail is appropriate to Zooey's register, but it is also self-reflexive. The text is committed to giving some dramatic moments and some strong lines to each character. Even Seymour, the dead brother, gets them by figuring in the living ones' dialogues. The moment of Mrs. Glass's grandeur is subsequently subverted, but not until it is registered well by the reader. Finally, there is also a good deal of cautiousness on the part of Buddy in the close-up passage. He wishes to give a 'mythical' dimension to his mother, but does not want to appear too partial and sentimental, and, hence proceeds to diminish her a bit by saying that these days she is less discriminating in assuming those intense looks. The method behind the passage is no less revealing of Salinger's own, for he too subverts the Glasses only after ensuring that they are properly mythified.

At the self-reflexive level, Buddy's mediation or editing of the given data into a prose home movie relates easily with Salinger's overall method. One attraction of this method is that no principal character can complain too much : all ends well when each actor gets sufficient footage, sufficient exposure, a sufficient amount of strong moments, etc. For his part, Buddy the narrator cannot complain either. Indeed, Salinger satisfies himself through Buddy because there is continuity enough between "Franny" and "Zooey" to blur the distinction between Salinger the narrator and Buddy the narrator. Stylistically, both are similar, whether it is in phrases like "some little difficulty" in "Franny" (p. 23) and "some little trouble" in "Zooey" (p. 45), in the former's "fully five minutes" (p. 23) and the latter's "For a fullish half minute" (p. 156), or in the former's "sad-making" (p. 26) and the latter's "joy-making" (p. 54). Even more revealing is the phrase "I'm off" used by Franny, Buddy and Zooey (pp. 20, 54, 77, 110). Affectionate references to characters giving the impression that many lighted cigarettes are in their hands appear in both sections (pp. 12, 72), and both Franny and Zooey perspire too much (pp. 21, 22, 25, 29, 93, 108, 135, 136) and attach ego (pp. 27 ff., 120 ff.). The difference between the narrational styles in the two sections is not qualitative but one dictated by the differing occasions. "Franny" is written for a 'worldly' audience, "Zooey" pretends to be a family memento. One might feel bewildered by the fact that, as seen in "Hapworth 16, 1924," Seymour's

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style too is similar enough to be confused with Buddy's and Salinger's. On top of it, whatever little we see of Franny's written style, it too is equally witty, smart, elegant. One cannot rationalise this much of stylistic similarity between Salinger on the one hand and the Glasses on the other—unless one accepts the possibility that Salinger is one of and with the Glasses. Which is actually another way of saying that the Glasses are Salinger. One cannot forget after all that Buddy too has just one short novel to his credit, like Salinger. Yet another way of stating this would be by saying that the Glasses and their acts are all a theatre inside Salinger's head, that no matter whether it is someone's suicide or someone else's nervous breakdown, it is part of Salinger's show. The Glasses are thus Salinger's shades in a breath-takingly romantic way. We are told that Zooey the handsome is extremely conscious of his deep narcissism and therefore keeps his eyes focused on their reflection in the glass so as not to observe the rest of his face. "Zooey" has another interesting detail : the quotations on the beaverboard in Seymour's and Buddy's room were "incestuously" lined up. The two details — narcissism and incestuous impulse — go together and it is possible to argue that all strategies whereby Salinger shifts the burden of narration to Buddy are self-defensive in the sense that Salinger does not want himself to sound too intimate and protective towards his shades which are his might-have-been sides. Each Glass is thus a looking glass for Salinger himself.

Without getting too much into the psychological, and to Salinger and the Glasses hateful, implications of such self-gazing, it is possible to see how the various self-reflexive details are introduced in the text with the ultimate aim of making the reader uncritically take the author on his own utterly self-protective terms. Indeed, quite a lot of textual energy is spent on forbidding the reader to look into the suppressed psychological realities of the text. Lane is damned not only for his bad style but also for his "capital-F Freudian" interest in Flaubert. In addition, he is made unpleasant for doing an incisive job on the frogs' legs while Franny is describing the meaning of Jesus Prayer; also, he is turned horrible for daring to psychoanalyse (of course in his own vulgar fashion) Franny Glass. Any analysis is bad, but psychoanalysis is a sin. This point is further asserted by Zooey when he rebukes Mother for contemplating to consult a psychiatrist on Franny's breakdown. He reminds her of what psychoanalysis "did for Seymour" (p. 87); Buddy has already told us that the conclusions arrived at by a group of psychiatrists about Zooey were pointless (p. 49). In "Raise High the Roof Beam, Carpenters," both Muriel's mother and the Matron of Honor are judged for their vulgar faith in psychoanalysis because its jargon is used for suggesting flaws in Seymour. Seymour

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uses his own special, gentle malice against Muriel's mother : "She might as well be dead, and yet she goes on living, stopping off at delicatessens, seeing her analyst, consuming a novel every night, putting on her girdle, plotting Muriel's health and prosperity. I love her. I find her unimaginably brave" (*Raise High*, p. 57). The malice is real, the love is just style. The woman is decried also in "A Perfect Day for Bananafish" for recommending psychoanalysis for Seymour. Indeed, this loathing for psychiatry might be the best clue to the impending fate of Holden in *The Catcher in the Rye*; his question as to where the ducks go during the winter sounds an appropriate elegiac note for himself as well, for he is unlikely to survive now that the psychiatrist has taken control of him. In the same vein, psychoanalysis is not for the Glasses, for they are much too exceptional. Only a mystic, irrational psychiatrist can cure Franny, and of course such a psychiatrist does not exist—except in the family itself. So much for psychoanalysis at the level of characters. *Franny and Zooey* also introduced a script writer, Dick Hess (even the name, like several others, e.g. Dean Sheeter, is probably a *double entendre*), who dares to psychoanalyse Zooey and his brothers, to the wrath of Zooey. His script is dismissed the same way as Seymour dismissed Mrs. Fedder : "It can't miss, sir ! It's down-to-earth, it's simple, it's untrue, and it's familiar enough and trivial enough to be understood and loved by our greedy, nervous, illiterate sponsors" (p. 108). Another script, "The Heart is an Autumn Wanderer" by Mr. LeSage, is mocked for its use of the psycho-analytical jargon : "The only difference is that it's brought gloriously up to date with a lot of jargon about complexes and repressions and sublimations that the writer brought home from his analyst's" (p. 107). Freud is fit for parody only (p. 101). Such an overkill is apt to make one wonder if it is all only for characterizations or if something in Salinger himself is at stake and must be defended. It is not just the Glasses but Salinger's text as well that must be protected from a psychoanalytical gaze.

The suspicion gains ground when we see how persistently the text wishes to be taken as it is, on its own announced terms, and not to be analysed. In a sense, both Franny and Zooey, beautiful as they are, are also *objets d'art* and they fear ruin once somebody analyses them. The attack in *Franny and Zooey* turns out to be against all critics and professional scholars who ruin the things of beauty for you, by analysing them. Lane, Professor Tupper, and others are inside the text, and they are destructive. Franny hates the section men because they cannot take a beautiful text as it is but must destroy it. A section man, Franny explains punishingly to Lane, is a person "that takes over a class when the professor isn't there or is busy having a nervous

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breakdown or is at the dentist or something. He's usually a graduate student or something. Anyway, if it's a course in Russian Literature, say, he comes in, in his little button-down-collar shirt and striped tie, and starts knocking Turgenev for about a half hour. Then, when he's finished, when he's completely *ruined* Turgenev for you, he starts talking about Stendhal or somebody he wrote his thesis for his M.A. on" (pp. 17-18). It is all smart, but again a whimsical procedure is in evidence. Contradictions are elevated above logic or arguments, and Franny would insist that her "No. Yes, I don't know" is superior to any straight answer. The question is what exactly one is supposed to do if not reflect on one's reading and through understanding and analysis make sense of it. What is wrong or unnatural if one tries to analyse something in an effort to understand it ? Does all analysis have to be destructive ? And is all passive consumption superior ? Aren't there degrees of analysis just as there are degrees of stupor ? Does, in other words, a cliche about beauty being destroyed by analysis become a sacred truth just because Salinger or a Glass child phrases it in immaculate prose ? The attack on analysis is sanctified by the late Seymour's poems which are to be quietly accepted as great in spite of —or because of—the fact that they make about as much sense as infant Franny's ascension up to the ceiling. A similar gratuitous superiority underlies the ideal of one hand clapping or aiming while not aiming. It defies analysis as well as understanding and might as well as be utter goddam nonsense as some superior wisdom. The procedure is extremely eccentric because it ennobles all illogic while degrading logic and intellect. Its only justification is that it is part of a package which has to be taken on its own terms. Seen from the Buddy-Salinger's end of the telescope, I, in attributing shades of aggressive paranoia to Salinger, am falling straight into the trap this extremely self-conscious text has for anybody who likes to analyse texts and relate them to their authors, but still it must be asked why a text dignified enough to invite comparisons with the world's classics should demean itself by fixing traps of any kind for anybody.

It has been argued above that the Glasses are Salinger's shades. They constitute the core of his fiction, and something should now be said about the establishment of this fantasy core. There is no doubt that to many this fantasy, like any sophisticated fantasy, holds tremendous appeal; in Salinger, it has the additional virtue of sounding mystical, for it is richly garnished with spiritual and mystical jargon. Seymour is the high priest of this fantasy, though in lesser degrees each Glass is devoted to it, nay exists by it. This fantasy must appeal to some deep cravings in all rational, sophisticated readers, but like all

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fantasy it requires that they suspend their disbelief and judgement, become children. Even that requirement might appear pleasant to many. A fine ironist and mimic that he is, Zooey parodies the spiritual salesmen who offer an easy path to salvation; he is demystifying the easy charm of books like *The Way of a Pilgrim.*

> As soon as we get out of the chapel here, I hope you'll accept from me a little volume I've always admired. I believe it touches on some of the fine points we've discussed this morning. "God Is My Hobby." By Dr. Homer Vincent Claude Pierson, Jr. In this little book, I think you'll find, Dr. Pierson tells us very clearly how when he was twenty-one years of age he started putting aside a little time each day — two minutes in the morning and two minutes at night, if I remember correctly—and at the end of the *first year,* just by these little informal visits with God, he increased his annual income seventy-four per cent. I believe I have an extra copy, and if you'll be good enough—(p. 93).

This is sensible, this parody of religion made easy and cosy and convenient. But ironically, this is not at all different from the way Zooey himself is to sell Seymour's Fat Lady and karma theory to Franny. Zooey was once asked by Seymour not to despise his audience or their unskilled laughter but to polish his shoes for the Fat Lady who is supposed to represent both humanity and Jesus. Though in principle, the Fat Lady includes Professor Tupper, the section men, the phonies and the uncultured, includes the world out there, she is actually no more than an abstraction, for the simple reason that to address her, you have to obliterate the idiots that are the real audience. This abstraction is a fantasy, too. The fantasy makes sense because there can be no difficulty for one set of fantasy, the Glasses, in communicating with another, the Fat Lady. In *Franny and Zooey,* communication easily breaks down because reality intrudes whether in the form of an olive or in that of psychoanalysis. The Fat Lady is fantastic, she neither analyses, nor understands, nor judges, she doesn't even exist. From fantasy to fantasy, communication is smooth. What it amounts to is that one chooses to be human in the midst of phonies by not looking at or bothering with them but by still performing at one's best for the sake of the Fat Lady. You have to act because in your previous life you must have hankered after acting. If people depress you which they must because they are phoney and abominable, you can choose to be God's actress. Which isn't different from being one for the Fat Lady.

> But the thing is, you raved and you bitched when you came home about the stupidity of audiences. The goddam unskilled laughter

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> coming from the fifth row. And that's right — God knows it's depressing. I'm not saying it isn't. But that's none of your business, Franny. An artist's only concern is to shoot for some kind of perfection, and *on his own terms*, not anyone else's. You have no right to think about these things, I swear to you. (p. 155)

In fact, it goes without saying that the fantasy cannot be sustained on anyone else's terms because all others belong to the real world, and that world is phoney even though it is real and all this is depressing indeed. The world's roof beams are not going to be raised high enough to let the Glasses enter — is one part of Salinger's fantastic truth; the other is — the bridegrooms are so bloody tall and upright and stiff-necked that they will not bend their superior necks to enter the world. So the world is out. Salinger therefore constructs the fantastic Fat Lady who substitutes for the real audience. "Raise High the Roof Beam, Carpenters" does not answer the question as to why in the first place the great seer decided to wed Muriel. "Franny" similarly does not tell us why and on what ground Franny fell in love with a phoney like Lane. Fantasy can be demanding and unconvincing, though it has its satisfactions; it is also a lonely thing in the real world. It can also be quite desperate for if it seeks to end its isolation, it simply breaks down or commits suicide. In that terrible sense, the world, even New York, is no place for the Glasses. Nor for that matter, does the world have an actual Fat Lady. It is in the nature of the super elitists that the Glasses are that while they cannot bear to be with people without humiliating them, they consider themselves superior because of what they do to those people. Franny hates herself because she was rude to Lane; Zooey blames himself because he is not kind to others; but ironically they also consider themselves superior for knowing that they are rude or unkind to others. Zooey lashes himself : "I can't even sit down to lunch with a man any more and hold up my end of a decent conversation. I either get so bored or so goddam preachy that if *the son of a bitch had any sense*, he'd break his chair over my head" (p. 85; emphasis added). The suggestion here is that because Zooey is so self-critical, the reader need not criticise him. On top of it, it is characteristic of Zooey that in flagellating himself, he does not forget to make it clear that the other person is the son of a bitch and has no sense. The same kind of inflated egotism underlies Zooey's attacks on his own ego, his "wise-child" complex, his freakishness. If others find them egotistic or impossible or rude, they are phonies. The Fat Lady, on the other hand, is useful because she just watches and adores. The Glasses are great democrats because they love the Fat Lady, even though they hate people as they are. It is not surprising that the only role they have for people is that of audience; they must just watch them, pay for

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watching them, pay for reading them. Otherwise the Fat Lady is the best. Indeed, she lives within the Glasses, is an internal fantasy, she is theirs, and therefore easy to cherish and pat and even adore as Jesus. God lives not in people but in the Fat Lady. And the Fat Lady is convenient because she is a concept. Whatever is right in and about people lives in the Glasses; those who live outside are people but not quite. This is quite like Walpole's England which he thought he could love if it weren't for people in it. The Glasses are thus a very sheltered menageries, and Salinger watches over them like their guardian angel.

Finally, even as a concept, the Fat Lady is quite muddled. On the one hand, Zooey blames Franny for desiring a gentle, peaceloving Jesus. He wishes she would like Jesus as he really is, instead of imposing her fantasy on him. On the other hand, though, the familial fantasy of the Fat Lady gets easily imposed on Jesus, be sleight of hand as it were. Why should Jesus be susceptible to the Fat Lady treatment and not to Franny's sentimental one ? The question cannot be answered in logical terms, but it takes us to the heart of Salinger's manipulation of the reader. I shall discuss this in the last section of this paper.

To return to Buddy's self-reflexive "odium" of introduction in the beginning of "Zooey," one has to be downright naive to take seriously his self-deprecating remarks. Indeed, one of the things the reader is expected to learn early in Salinger is that so much of the Glasses' self-abuse is an inverted form of self-praise. Two contrary standards prevail in the world of the Glasses when they talk : they mean what they say when they attack the phonies, egotists and snobs out there, so that one can feel the contempt behind, say, Buddy's remark about the officer who grants him leave to attend Seymour's funeral : "I was finally able to [get leave] by laboriously ingratiating myself with my company commander, a bookish man by his own confession, whose favorite author, as luck had it, happened to be my favorite author . . ." (*Raise High*, p. 14). One can hardly miss the contempt in "a bookish man by his own admission." Secondly, the Glasses express their utter fondness for one another by two different means : one, by incestuously clinging to one another, clinging to the late prodigy that was Seymour, and clingling through mutual protection and mutual promotion. This is incestuous but also narcissistic, because it is self-flattery by refraction. The second means is ironical : by self-dramatising and cursing himself, a Glass child is able to prove that his self-criticism is a sign of his superiority over others.

The prose home movie metaphor that Buddy introduces fits very well with the grand theatrical ethos of *Franny and Zooey*.

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Everything is scenic, dramatic here. The structure is worked out in terms of dramatic efficacy. Also, every principal character is a show-person. Franny is a great actress, Zooey is a TV celebrity, Mrs. Glass has been a great vaudevillian. The text introduces a TV play script and the resolution of the conflict in the book is reached through impersonating. The dramaturgical motifs are not only openly discussed but also pervade the Glasses' way of talking and acting. The whole irony of the first, direct attempt by Zooey to talk to Franny is built upon the fact the Franny has already considered every issue Zooey is now raising. Similarly, all Zooey's objections to Mrs. Glass's wish to consult a psychiatrist have again been already considered by her. Her anxiety over Franny's condition is more theatrical than real, as though she knew that it would all turn out to be all right in the end. Indeed, it is possible too that Franny has not been taken in by Zooey's playing Buddy on phone. It is possible, in other words, that she is playing up to Zooey. When the right—theatrically right—point is reached for breaking the illusion, Franny calls Zooey by his name. The result is a curiously theatrical situation right from the start, as though the characters, the actors, knew it was all a game, a family fiction. Communication is beside the point; gestures, audience-consciousness, correct effects are all. In his formal introduction to "Zooey" Buddy the editor-producer admits that the Glasses' one of language is private, exclusive : "We speak a kind of esoteric family language, a sort of semantic geometry . . ." (p. 45). The dramaturgical motifs, appropriate by themselves for these professional actors, suggest that the characters are role-players engaged in an impromptu but familiar kind of play. The theatrical consciousness, the effect consciousness, matters more to them than life issues. The ultimate irony is that maybe all along the characters are playing their roles under the valid assurance that what they say or do is going to be converted into a prose home movie. The whole show is for family consumption, and since they understand each other so well that they can predict their behaviour, there is no question of their seeking to learn, grow, change at all. In fact, Zooey tells Franny that in their family there is no difference between the age of ten and the age of twenty or eighty. The entire emphasis then is on allowing impressive speeches to each one, on seeing that each of them gets good footage, strong moments, some fantastic improvisations, some nice long speeches. It must work out to be a perfect production. In the notebook entry left by Seymour, one such show is mentioned; that show too was exclusive to the family, and Zooey there too had muddled his performance a bit. In the Sunday 'play' the actors themselves are the audience, too. And of course it is not surprising to see Zooey congratulating Mrs. Glass on the strong exit lines she gives

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herself, Franny applauding Zooey's speeches, and at one point claiming to 'direct' Zooey. These details are ironically offered, but they suggest how little difference there is for them between life and stage. But for the most Pirandello-ian moment in the book one has to be grateful to Franny who faints in the restaurant. When she comes to, she says to Lane, "Am I supposed to say 'where am I ?' . . . Where am I ?" (p. 37). Judging by the way she elegantly collapses near the cocktail bar, one realizes how self-reflexive theatre is in *Franny and Zooey*. For how do we apply moral norms to play-actors ? They, the actors, do not call for moral assessment but for aesthetic applause. This we should not deny them, but then how do we reconcile this aestheticism with the book's mystical-philosophical dimension ? Indeed, how can we call it even a love story ?

Buddy describes himself as a clever writer, and quotes Seymour as saying that "cleverness was my permanent affliction, my wooden leg" (p. 59). And though he adds that it was so in his "earliest and pastiest days as a would be writer," this self-defensive qualification means nothing, for age makes no difference to the Glasses. Now, Buddy's wooden leg is Salinger's no less. One could visualize the author at work, tormented by such questions as : is the book only too clever or is it profound as well ? How can it be made to pass for a profound one ? Can layers of clever polish create a good impression ? Is an artfully constructed fantasy a substitute for depth and profundity ? Cleverness is a wooden leg, but it is great help, at least with a certain kind of audience. Two parallel strategies are employed by Salinger for preventing the reader from seeing the wooden leg for what it is. The first is pre-empting its criticism by articulating it through Buddy. As if Buddy's calling himself clever would transform it into a deep value. In their own ways, Franny and Zooey both seek a similar transformation of cleverness. However, the most important thing is all these clever ones implicate Salinger and suggest that the wooden leg is his own.

The second strategy is no less insistent. This is to construct self-reflexive binary oppositions between things merely clever and things great and profound, and then to launch tirades against the former. So that the reader will be led to conclude that a text so much against cleverness cannot be just clever after all, that it must belong to the latter group. One who hates cleverness so passionately must be profound. This is in line with the Glasses calling themselves bastards to make the reader believe that they must not be bastards. Salinger is a pastmaster in the art of negative insinuations. Consider how many a polarity is instituted between beauty on the one hand and intellect, intellectual

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droppings, and ingenuity on the other (pp. 21, 45), between genius and talent (p. 28), between really beautiul productions and competent productions (p. 63) and between knowledge and wisdom (p. 116). Most of the polarities are self-reflexive, and a mystique is built about things which are inspired and beautiful. Franny defines a poet as someone who leaves something beautiful, not mere intellectual, 'syntaxy droppings' : "I know this much, is all . . . . If you're a poet, you do something beautiful. I mean you're supposed to *leave* something beautiful after you get off the page and everything. The ones you are talking about don't leave a single, solitary thing beautiful . . . . It may be just some kind of terribly fascinating, syntaxy *droppings* – excuse the expression" (p. 21). The self-reflexive hint here is that what the reader is reading now is something beautiful, something truly like Keat's Gracian Urn. Buddy's letter to Zooey similarly institutes a polarity between a really beautiful production of Chekhov and a merely competent one : "Have you ever seen a really beautiful production of, say, The Cherry Orchard ? Don't say you have. Nobody has. You may have seen 'inspired' productions, 'competent' productions, but never anything beautiful. Never one where Chekhov's talent is matched, nuance for nuance, idiosyncrasy for idiosyncrasy, by every soul onstage" (pp. 53-54). Again, the Glasses as well as their tales are associated with really beautiful productions. This is the strategy by which the late Seymour's Haiku-style poems (e.g. "The little girl on the plane/Who turned her doll's head around/To look at me" [p. 55] are supposed to be edified as really beautiful ones. The Glasses are the great aesthetes, the perfect perfectionists, and the reader is not supposed to entertain any unease or scepticism. Because if he does, he is just a phoney.

However, such 'strategic' condemnations of cleverness may themselves be a work of cleverness, and may suggest a very clever talent trying to hide his wooden leg in an effort to pass for someone profound. This cleverness implies a person who has a good understanding of profound works – who has actually even collected their profound components and then proceeded to assemble them in a new clever product. Unfortunately, such a method, though characterising all advanced industrial societies, can assemble the components only by sterilising, deadening them in the first place. In any case, the operation is mechanical, not creative, nor conducive to the creation of beauty. In deadening the components — tissues would be a better word — their external form can be retained; this form can be polished up; and of course it can be made pre-digested and therefore more attractive to the consumer. Salinger's cleverness guides him to ransack, as it were, several cultures and classics and then pool up their spiritual, profound

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tissues, so that then he can re-assemble them in a grand but easy-to-take false mythology whose easy consumption, together with its new and dazzling format, will ensure its success. Salinger is a success, and one can add that someone like him can come only from a society where nothing succeeds like success. But cleverness remains, for it is the essence of Salinger. The formalised, sterilised and deadened tissues may have a tragic tale to relate to a sensitive reader, but to a less sensitive one they might appear as genuinely alive and a sign of profundity comparable to the original bodies from which they were detached. But there is no doubt that the success is real, and so is the cleverness.

Detaching, deadening the tissues, re-assembling them, polishing them — all these activities suggest technique, and therefore it is hardly a surprise that technique should be such a crucial matter in *Franny and Zooey*. Salinger may despise literary scholars, but he knows his formalism almost as well as a Percy Lubbock or Wayne C. Booth. He is acutely conscious of the importance of the narrational point of view in a story. He also knows how with a little bit of cleverness and sophistication, the author could get away with anything; he knows how to shift embarrassing burdens to the narrator, especially the first-person narrator. Salinger is self-conscious enough not to tell things but to incorporate them dramatically within the action. The ultimate self-defence he resorts to is to place himself outside his tale. If the Glasses look spoof or fantastic, well, it's not that he adores them. He is not in the text. Salinger might even argue that he regards them as a bunch of elites, freaks or clever little bastards. Anything is possible, everything is indeterminate – such is the gain of his narrative techniques. Gulliver, we know, is not Swift, nor Stephen Dedalus Joyce; similarly Buddy need not be Salinger. One cannot win against Salinger; his irony is his defence. One surrenders before such a stance but feels two things : one, none of the great ones mentioned in *Franny and Zooey* ever felt the need for such elaborate self-defence; and two, such self-defence can only be an indicator of some deep insecurity in the writer. In any case, where do we look for Mr J. D. Salinger if not in his fiction and his Glasses ? Are there only differences and distances between the tale and the author, or must there also be connexions ?

It is obvious that *Franny and Zooey* is a self-reflexive text both in a formal and a familial sense. By introducing motif after aesthetic, dramaturgical, and valuational motif and by foregrounding style and technique, it points to its made-up, arty nature, its principle of operation and its theatricality. The motifs of artistic value are all there to express the criteria by which it wishes to be taken by the reader. By

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consciously blurring the distinction between life and performance, it exhibits the player-actors, the Glasses, at their presentational best. They are so especial that they can only think of themselves both as players and as the audience, the Fat Lady being as conceptual a fantasy as Seymour and other Glasses. The dramaturgical motifs throw in doubt the actors' reality as moral beings, and perhaps they aren't so moral as they are fantastic fantasy children of the author himself, whose distinctions but also anxieties they share more or less fully. All this suggests an extreme attachment to aestheticism, but it alienates the text from life. Franny Glass when she regains consciousness in the restaurant not only acts theatrically but also asks Lane if she had "honestly" fainted. This might strike one as elegant, but taken literally it shows how privileged theatre is over life in the world of the Glasses. The clever attempt to transform such details into something mystical or profound can be read as a sign of the writer's own anxieties at the self-reflexive level.

III

Salinger-Seymour Culture and the Reader

It has been argued above that the Glasses are a fantasy which needs the Fat Lady, another fantasy, for its communicative needs. The Fat Lady is generously edified as Jesus, but is actually a passive receiver of the action. The fantasy cannot sound plausible to the reader unless it is richly embellished with all types of circumstantial, contextual detail which are realistic and specific. In fact, most extended fantasies need so much of realism for their essential props. This is as true of *Gulliver's Travels* where dates, maps, place names are used to support the basic fantasy, as of the flight of Franny which is 'realized' with the help of such realistic details as the dust on the light bulb. The Fat Lady fantasy has twin functions : one, in relation to the Glasses she becomes the ideal, invisible, harmless audience, facing her they can forget the actual people and act on their own terms. The other function of the Fat Lady relates to the actual reader. The text is clearly on a defensive here : the "Zooey" section is a home movie, meant for the Glasses, and if the reader sticks to it, it is in spite of Buddy's clarifications about its basic purpose. What then is the reader's position in the narrative ? He is clearly not a part of the family, and if Buddy's tone is quite 'involving' and intimate, the reader is supposed to feel grateful. He is a privileged person, and he should know it. The privilege is not without a condition. He is supposed to behave like the Fat Lady, invisible, good,

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unanalytic, non-destructive, all-accepting. The reader, to have a nice stay with the Glasses, has to be like her, though in the process he may have the satisfaction of being edified as Jesus. However, the package in reality means that the reader has to identify with a fantasy and despise the world he really belongs to. He may be a phoney himself, but the text won't call him that if he agrees to become the Fat Lady. It all boils down to the text seeking to co-opt the reader into its fantasy so that he may feel released both from his realities and his imperfections. The reader, in other words, is offered escape. He feels marvellously superior with the privilege, and the fact that he is co-opted ensures that he won't examine the implications of such an escape. He cannot ask anything of the text except what it allows him in its own terms.

The escapist function of the fantasy prevents the book from having any responsible, purposeful direction. A satire which, on the one hand, calls everyone phoney and, on the other, sets up some impossibly fantastic people as the norm is less a satire than an indulgence. The Fat Lady is the necessary compensation for the insult it heaps on the actual reader. The book's satirical intent is a joke; its co-option of the reader is highly dubious.

Of course, the fantasy has its satisfaction, and this satisfaction has a mythological-mystic dimension. What is Seymour if not an artificially synthesised, deadened myth ? He is a consciously-carved, expressly and intellectually fabricated myth for a fast pace, highly industrialised, consumerist society in which culture, ethics, religion, way to salvation, all have to be acquired in a jiffy. While the underdeveloped, primitive societies live myths, it is in the nature of the sophisticated societies to crave and consume myths. These societies are so utterly and tangibly detached from, or alien to myths that they view myths as their Other; and they view anything exotic, extreme, far-fetched as mystic. The Other, as anthropologists tell us, embodies what the Self lacks. As such, the Other is a perpetual source of fascination for the Self. The Self, the industrial society, does not wish to actually live myths, for that would mean abandoning civilization and its comforts, but it all the same feels its own lacks which the Other embodies. Seymour in particular and the Glass family in general are offered as the easily, confortably accessible Other to the burgeois readership. They are an intellectually-complied, polished but fake myth, for they lack the *mana*,, the efficacy and power of a genuine myth. They are only a diversion and give that kind of intellectual satisfaction which many tourists have after they have captured an exotic place in their camera. In any case, the readership doesn't care for the real myths; anything will do so long as it looks exotic. In that sense, Seymour and Company are a degraded,

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trivialized myth but a successful cultural bestseller.

Seymour is not purposelessly mythified. Not only the Glass family but the Salinger family needs a mythic hero. And no doubt, Seymour is both mythical and ultra-modern; he has no reservations against homosexuality, for example (and considering that "Hapworth 16, 1924" is supposed to have been written by Seymour in 1924, this is some progressivism !) and interprets the Biblical 'perfection' not as 'flawless' but as something extremely convenient and comforting to the readership : "Perfection is an absolutely different word, magnificently left hanging for the human being's kind benefit throughout the ages ! That is what I call thrilling, sensible leeway. My God, I am fully in favour of a little leeway or the damnable jig is up ! Fortunately, in my own forward opinion, based on the dubious information of the unreliable brain, the jig is never damnable and never up.... even our magnificent God's perfection allows for a touching amount of maddening leeway.... "[5] Similarly, Seymour's version of the prayer of God is very comforting : "Dear hallmark, give me some decent, reasonable instructions for tomorrow, quite while I am sleeping" ("Hapworth," p. 90). Zooey's substitution of the Russian pilgrim's Jesus prayer by the Fat Lady is similarly easy to adopt—and then to forget !

The two most significant things about the myth and the Glass family are : the comprehensive range of their concerns, and the made-easy approach they offer on profound issues. The result is these touch enough real feelings in the reader though these feelings are touched only for being trivialized, only for degrading those profound issues. Nearly everything ranging from secular to mystical is taken care of in a few hundred pages after reading which a reader may well feel 'saved'. It turns out, though, that the salvation is only an appearance. Which is perhaps another way of realizing what differentiates Salinger from a Dostoevsky or a Tolstoy ! Here, in other words, is a 'degraded' myth, a myth for easy consumption, requiring no efforts or discipline, designed expressly to cater to the fashionable needs of American bourgeoisie who would rather contemplate salvation in the air-conditioned comfort of their bedroom than think about the immediate and real but embarrassing truths like the basis of their prosperity, the role of their democracy in relation to dictators and military junta in the Third World. Not to disturb is the banner under which Salinger makes his offerings to a smug bourgeoisie which wants the reassurance that its smugness is capable of leaping straight to salvation. Ideologically, too, Salinger thus suits the establishment at home.

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It is possible that Salinger gives the audience the opium it demands as well as deserves. It is also possible that he understands only too well what this audience is like. As such, together with the satisfaction over the success of his spoof mythology, there may be in him much contempt for the complacent, credulous fools his 'satisfied' readers are. But then he too seems to have found their needs particularly suited to his cleverness. In terms of intertextuality and self-reflexivity, of mystical concerns and recurrent human problems, *Franny and Zooey* can match even a classic like *Herzog*, but it is easy to see how Bellow does not capitulate to the audience, while *Franny and Zooey* always does. Given the particular kind of audience, Salinger cannot afford to be demanding, even though he might resent it in his heart of hearts, considering that the norms he sets through intertextuality and self-reflexivity are Flaubert, Dostoevsky, and Shakespeare. Salinger as such is a great author made easy for the sake of his audience. This means, of course, he is not likely to fall short of audience, but this also means he is going to, has chosen to, stay this side of greatness.

Ideologically, too, Salinger deserves to be liked and promoted by all those whose stakes are in the status-quo. A writer who attacks everyone as phoney and then points to an ideal which is fantastic in the sense of being unrealizable attacks nothing. He only points to the necessity of the status-quo. Again, a writer who erases real people out of existence in favour of some conceptual fantasy cannot be interested in his art being a criticism of life. In this sense, Salinger is a romantic writer and his art has its core in an ascapist, exotic, pseudo-mythical fantasy. Finally, any Asian who feels flattered by Salinger's quotations from Asian authors or cultural texts might be actually misconstruing what Salinger's quotations imply. As in Eliot's subsuming of Shantih, Shantih, Shantih into the Biblical "Peace that passeth understanding," these quotes suggest an all-devouring lust for acquisition which does not feel any qualms in ransacking for raw materialfrom other cultures; this raw material is used for manufacturing American culture goods; and in Salinger of course what is manufactured is a consumer commodity called mythology.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. How, for instance, such seemingly contextual phrases as Franny's pleasingly-muddled "No. Yes, I don't know" (p. 18) and "No. Yes and no. I don't know" (p. 24) reach a fine variation in Zooey's Buddy-ian "Yes and no. You know" (p. 147); how the reference to the private phone in the late Seymour's room made in Buddy's four years old letter to Zooey is taken up again by Mrs Glass during her bathroom talk with Zooey and is eventually structually justified in the final scene is which Zooey uses it for impersonating Buddy for the purpose of communicating with Franny; and

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how what can seem to be either a printing error or a misspelling by Franny in her letter to Lane—your for you're — turns out to be a cattish irony against Lane's clumsy confusion between the two words : "You're letter didn't sound so goddam destructive" (pp. 10, 18). All references to *Franny and Zooey* are to the Penguin reprint of 1977 and unless otherwise indicated, all parenthetical pagination is to this book.

2. The best discussion of Salinger's audience is in Frank Kermode's reviews of Salinger's works, reprinted as a chapter in *Modern Essays* (London : Fontana, 1971), pp. 226-38.

3. *Raise High the Roof Beam, Carpenters and Seymour : An Introduction* (1963); rpt. Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1964), p. 103. All subsequent references are to this edition.

4. Flaubert, *Madame Bovary,* trans. and int. Alan Russell (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1950), p. 161.

5. "Hapworth 16, 1924," *The Now Yorker* (19 June 1965), p. 94.

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NATURE OF REBELLION IN ALAN SILLITOE'S *SATURDAY NIGHT AND SUNDAY MORNING* AND *THE LONELINESS OF THE LONG-DISTANCE RUNNER*

Avtar Singh

"If you look for the working classes in fiction," wrote George Orwell in 1940, "and especially English fiction, all you find is a hole." He goes on to qualify this statement :

> For reasons that are easy enought to see, the agricultural labourer (in English a proletarian) gets a fairly good showing in fiction, and a great deal has been written about criminals, derelicts and, more recently, the working-class intelligentsia. But the ordinary town proletariat, the people who make the wheels go round, have always been ignored by novelists. When they do find their way between the covers of a book, it is nearly always as objects of pity or as cosmic relief.[1]

It is important to distinguish between the quantitative and qualitative judgements being made by Orwell. On the one hand, it is simply untrue that the urban working classes have always been ignored by novelists. There is, in fact, a considerable body of English fiction which deals with, or purports to deal with, not merely the exceptions acknowledged by Orwell but the ordinary town proletariat. In the Victorian period alone there were several novels written on the subject. On the other hand, Orwell's objection to the presentation of the working classes "when they do find their way between the covers of a book", while a slight exaggeration, is more just. For there are few English novels which deal with working-class characters in a working-class environment in the same sense as there are novels about the middle or upper classes in their own recognizably real settings. In other words, novels which treat the working class as being composed of ordinary human beings who experience the range of feelings and emotions, social aspirations and psysical relationships, that it is the special province of the novelists to explore.

The novel of conduct and class is certainly not new in the English tradition. Richardson and Fielding dealt extensively with class distinctions and struggles in eighteenth-century society and, a century later, Dickens, Trollope, and then Hardy frequently used the them of

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young man from the lower or lower middle classes attempting to enter a more urbane and cosmopolitan society. Class lines, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were not prescribed with absolute, immutable rigidity, although the problems and stresses holding back the young man of energy were invariably greater than the opportunities before him. In the twentieth century, however, and particularly since the end of World War II, the young man finds moving from one class to another superficially easier. The contemporary novel of class depicts a society of somewhat greater mobility in which the hero is apt to be a good deal less sure of from what or to what he is moving. The basic fact, however, is that many novelists have been attempting to return to a traditional theme of how a man works his way through society with a characteristic twentieth-century lack of assurance about what the man or the society is really like. In outlining a society full of class changes, judgments, and distinctions, these contemporary writers often exhibit and express sympathy for the lower classes, for those not granted the automatic privilege of an inherited position within the Establishment. The search for a lower-class perspective is often deliberate. As Anthony Burgess puts it :

> One of the most compelling literary phenomena of our time has been the emergence of the small good-hearted rebel, too feeble to make his protest against society seem more than a clown's gesture, not even articulate enough to clarify for himself what precisely is wrong with society, except that it is full of humbug.[2]

Ronald Hayman endorses Anthony Burgess when he says,

> The war and its ideology produced something of an Indian summer in the long life of the middle class hero, who could so easily climb into the cockpit of a fighter and fly up to become a national hero. With the general reaction against the heroic mode in the fifties came the birth of the working class anti-hero, who was not always hypergamous but always virile and iconoclastic.[3]

The works of Alan Sillitoe are dominated by the theme of rebellion. In *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (1958) and *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner* (1959), he presents his heroes who are members of the labouring class rebelling against those mainstays of the proletarian literature of the 1940s, the oppressive management and conservative politicians. To those who regard the subjects as anarchistic in the present decade, Sillitoe might assert, as he did in an essay on contemporary British social conditions :

> In England there are half a million people out of work, and ten

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> times that number living in real poverty, what I would call below the telly-line, as well as below the bread-line. The gap between the very poor and the normal rich is wider than it has ever been.[4]

Nevertheless the equalitarian society which Sillitoe desires is far from becoming an actuality. The representative hero in his novels resents the public badge, the articulation of the system. He feels no class unity, no public identification, and therefore works hard for the direct and the tangible—the job that pays more or the more attractive and exciting woman.

> "At the same time that factory work exhausts the nervous system to the uttermost," Marx observed, "it does away with the many-sided play of the muscles, and confiscates every atom of freedom, both in bodily and intellectual activity."[5]

Nowhere has this observation been better examplified than in Sillitoe's novels of working class life. Whether toiling at lathes like Arthur Seaton *in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* or at a milling-machine like Smith's in *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner,* the protagonists of such fiction typically find that their actions soon became automatic, reducing them as workers and more importantly, as human beings, to mere operative extensions of the factory's machinery in exactly the way that Marx had described.

The conflict in man's inner world can be clearly defined by a writer of Sillitoe's predilections if he places his character in physical bondage. For this reason *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* and *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner* have proved to be Sillitoe's most successful explorations of the theme of rebellion.

Sillitoe's *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* has been praised as the best proletarian novel in which the hero, Arthur Seaton is an angry young worker, a "heel" who, on weekends, escapes from his factory job by going on drunken sprees. The class struggle element in this novel is for most part a retrospective one. Arthur feels that his own comparative affluence emphasizes all the more the injustices done to his own class in the past. And the streets of working class Nottingham are still not very pretty—inadequate sanitation and too many families to a house. For Arthus Seaton, the body and its pleasures provide refuge from the workaday monotony, fragmentation, and direariness of factory-bound life in a class-ridden world. At the end of the week, having received their pay packets, men like Authur leave behind the factory with its noise and smells, eager to have "the effect of a week's monotonous graft in the factory . . . swilled out of their system in the cosy world of pubs and noisy tarts."[6]

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The cataloguing of Arthur Seaton's picaresque adventures forms the spine of the novel, as he goes with great vitality from drink to female-cushioned bed, and then returns to drink. In this way Sillitoe depicts working class life with sharp criticism of the established order and lip service to traditional virtues, revealing a contemporary society with no interests but the flesh and money. Thus Authur is an anti-hero in revolt against the Establishment but without much belief in social programmes or progress. He perceives that the benefits of full employment are both partial and precarious, senses an unspoken comradeship between himself and his fellow workers directed against a vague 'they' of employer and State, and is dimly aware that all is not well with the society in which he lives or with his own personal values.

Sillitoe has divided his novel into two parts, of which the first twelve chapters comprise "Saturday Night" and the last three "Sunday Morning." The opening chapters, an overture that adumbrates the major theme of the work as a whole, operates withih the compressed time-scale of a single Saturday night and the following Sunday morning. In the very first paragraph, Arthur Seaton's drinking companions, including Brenda, his mistress, make no effort to save him inspite of the fact that they are aware that he is about to fall dead drunk "from the top-most stair to the bottom." He has just defeated his rival in drinking match, but ironically, his triumph ends in disaster, and his strength turns to infantile weakness :

> . . . Arthur's face was pulled down into his stomach, so that for all the world he looked like a fully dressed and giant foetus curled up at the bottom on the stairs on a plush-red carpet, hiding in the shadow of two aspidistras that curved out over him like arms of jungle foliage. (p. 6).

Nor is he to expect aid from supernatural sources. His first utterance is a mumbled "Christ !" but the waiter, who serves here a kind of chorus, reminds him : "He won't help you." Like a baby, he has the power neither of communication nor coordination; all he can do is to vomit over people, without apologising. He staggers out into the night, helpless and alone, but ultimately Bredna's maternal instincts are aroused. She returns home to take care of him, and Saturday night ends with Arthur "floating endless down into the warm bed beside Brenda's warm body."

The narrative action of the next eleven chapters records a number of incidents in Arthur Seaton's life as a factory worker, as philanderer, and above all, as an imbiber. His actions, often foolish, sometimes

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foolhardy, are carried on with nonchalance and bravado. His sexual promiscuity and frequent intoxication tend to blur the significance of his exploits. Arthur is gradually, but progressively, made aware of the truth that actions have consequences, and that society will ultimately hold him responsible for them , wiggle and squirm as he may to avoide being held accountable. At the beginning of the novel, his view of women is, to say the least, simplistic :

> . . . they were warm wonderful creatures that needed and deserved to be looked after, requring all the attention a man could give, certainly more than the man's work and a man's own pleasure . . . . Then on the other hand there were women who wouldn't let you be nice to them, women with battleship faces and hearts as tough as nails who rattle a big fist at you and roar : "Do this, do that, do the other, or else . . ." (pp. 41-42).

In the "Saturday Night" section, women are for Arthur simply good or bad, attractive or repulsive, creative or destructive, and he has no idea that they can be both at the same time. In short, he has no sense of paradox, so that he can make affectionate love to Brenda, for example, just when he is continually censuring her for her sloppy housework, neglect of her children, and infidelity to her husband. His rebellious temperament makes him abhor more than anything else the domination of man by woman. This is why Sillitoe has introduced in Chapter Seven the scene of the female soldier who reduces the miserable window-smasher to impotence as she physically details him for arrest. She is both virgin (as Arthur surmises) and crone, who tells the angry crowd to "leave the question for the police, as though her only function on earth was to live until they came." (p. 117).

This episode seems invented for the main purpose of showing us how deeply ambivalent Arthur is toward women, and of providing a kind of bench-mark against which we can measure his later, more mature realization and acceptance of woman's complex nature. Certainly this rather sordid incident evokes from him one of his most virulent outbursts :

> "I wouldn't have thought it possible," Fred cried in a hopeless rage. "How could anybody do a thing like that ?"
>
> "Because she's a bitch and a whore," Arthur cursed. "She's got no heart in her. She's a stone, a slab o' granite, a bastard, a Blood-tub, a potato face, a swivel-eyed gett, a Rat-clock."(p. 119).

Yet without exception, all of the men in the novel have been, or are in the process of becoming, vanquished by women : Arthur's

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father, Aunt Ada's forlorn spouse, Mr. Bull, Jack—even Bill the swaddie suffers from Winnie's tiger-scratches, and appears near the end of the novel a beaten man. What is more to the point, Arthur himself actively enjoys female domination, and the feelings he arouses in women are always at least partially maternal. Again, he must move from a position of unresolved, even unrecognized, conflict to one of relative harmony—a position finally symbolized by his submission to the 'virgin' Doreen.

Sillitoe wants Arthur to see the consequence of his lust when he faces the prospect of unwanted paternity but Arthur's innate rebellious nature resists : "She wants me to feel guilty about it, but I don't feel bad at all. It's an act of God, like a pit disaster" (p. 69). Brenda sternly compells Arthur to witness her sodden attempt to miscarry, and thus provides him with the knowledge of a 'natural' remedy : a hot bath and a quart of gin.

Jack, who is in some ways what Arthur may become, is in the process of being destroyed by his wife. He is filled with anxiety; he has left off sexual relations with Brenda (a fact that makes it possible for her to assign the blame for her pregnancy to Arthur. His unexpected, awkward intrusions such is his presence at the Athletic Club, his return home during the abortion scene and his appearance with the swaddies at the Goose Fair, underline his identification with Aurthur.

In "Sunday Morning" section, Arthur is to become more nearly adequate to the demands of reality through the realization that "even if you lived in a cave in the middle of a dark wood you weren't safe" (p. 197). For the first time in his life, really, he has to make an introspective self-assessment, to subject himself to the favourite habit of "weighing up" other people. For the physical pain the swaddies inflict is temporary and less agonizing than his sense of humiliation, his sensed loss of identity. So Arthur wanders about aimlessly, a 'zambie' engaged in the routines of factory and tavern.

Arthur accepts his fate as hero with the full realization of the possibilities as well as the hazards of life. Sillitoe makes this clear :

> The scarlet gash in Jim's forehead and the tight-lipped frightened face of Jane at Christmas had showed him., as it were, through an open chink of light, that a man could rarely play for safety if he was to win in the end . . . to win meant to survive; to survive with some life left in you meant to win. And to live with his feet on the ground did not demand, he realized fully for the first time, that he go against his own strong grain of recklessness—such as striving to kick down his enemies crawling like ants over the capital letter G of Government—but also accepting some of the sweet and agreeable things of life (p. 222).

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Thus Arthur is prepared to submit to Doreen, freely and consciously accepting the perils of a mature relationship with a woman for the first time. But the virile, fist-happy, beer-swilling Arthur keeps recurring in Sillitoe's subsequent novels.

Sillitoe's *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner* presents one of the most disturbingly effective parables of victorious defeat that has appeared in contemporary fiction. The gesture of the anti-hero who deliberately throws the All-England race has inspired divergent interpretations which range between harsh condemnation of the protagonist's "moral decay" to a celebration of his illustration of a "Christlike passion for a tragically deluded society suicidally hostile to life."[7] John D. Hurrel believes that the purpose of the story is to depict the moral generation of the hero, Colin Smith who

> is lonely, too, because he lives his life according to a 'code' that denies him any joy in life, a 'code' that consists, in fact, of the denial of the ordinary human pleasures . . . . We are led into seeing that all of Smith's beliefs have been false.[8]

The main source of controversy in the story is the protagonist's unrepentent attitude toward his chosen life of crime, and the critical question is whether or not Sillitoe sanctions the values of his narrator-protagonist or somehow exposes the limitations of those blatantly anarchistic values. One may be tempted to justify Smith's crime in terms of his unfortunate home background such as working-class insecurity, slum life, unemployment, periodic want, but it is embarrassing to attempt to do so in relation to the facts of the story. The crime was not committed out of economic necessity. After Smith's father died of cancer, the factory where he had been employed paid the family five hundred pounds in insurance benefits. As Smith explains, "how could any of us go to work after that ?"[9] Smith is unemployed because he does not want employment. He commits the crime—stealing a bakery cashbox—not out of necessity but out of choice. Moreover, he is utterly without a sense of remorse or guilt :

> "I don't say to myself : 'You shouldn't have done the job and then you'd have stayed away from Borstal'; no, what I ram into my runner-brain is that my luck had no right to scram just when I was on my way to making the coppers think I hadn't done the job after all" (p. 20).

Much of the power of rebellion in *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner* derives from the cool defiance of authority voiced by

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the protagonist. Smith sees the world divided between Out-laws and In-laws whose real cut-throat war is only thinly disguised by such institutions of corrective justice as the Essex Borstal where his reformation was to have taken place. The matter which the story presents is not the question of whether or not Smith is guilty or innocent. Once the crime has been committed, his guilt determined, and the sentence passed, the social questions of guilt, innocence, and responsibility regarding the theft are no longer the central issue. The subject of the story becomes a presentation of the more complex conflict between the captured and his keepers.

The time in Borstal gives Smith the opportunity to what his razor-sharp cunning to meet the threat of the In-law power. Representing the In-Law force in the story is the "governor" or superintendent of the Borstal. Discovering the protagonist's superior ability as a runner, the governor wishes to make him the winner of the All-England long-distance race to be held in Essex. Smith, while nourishing his secret disdain for the governor's ambitions, is willing to train for the race because it gives him a chance to do what he likes, running, and also to strike a blow at the governor by losing the race.

Smith's most tenable complaint against the governor is :

> "I'm not a race horse at all . . . . I'm a human being and I've got thoughts and secrets and bloody life inside me that he doesn't know is there" (p. 13).

The governor is most concerned with winning the field competition between the Borstals of all of England in the annual cross-country running match. His primary purpose seems to be to further his own professional prestige by using Smith's unusual abilities as a long-distance runner. From Smith's point of view, such an act—using another man's talents—is more insidiously criminal than his own, stealing a man's wealth. Smith does not pretend that stealing is not theft, but the governor pretends that his actions are motivated by a desire to improve his prisoners : "We want hard honest work and we want good athletics . . . . and if you give us both these things you can be sure we'll do right by you and send you back into the world an honest man" (p. 10). That is to say the governor will teach him the art of appearing to be honest.

For both spectators and participants, the importance of the "game" extends far beyond the vicarious enjoyment of fans' team-loyalties and the athlete's personal accomplishments. However, in Sillitoe's story, the sport becomes dehumanizing, no longer fulfilling its original and essential recreational functions in the way, it did in earlier

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times. William Hutchings points out that thought the character's participation in sports affords a certain personal satisfaction and fulfilment that life in the 'real' world cannot prove, the fact of the athlete's *expropriation* not only provides a crucial symbol for the causes of the character's alienation and anger but also has implications well beyond his particular time, class and society :

> Although Smith in *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner* is certainly not a professional athlete, he has been expropriated in exactly the same way by the 'establishment' that runs the reformatory in which he is confined . . . . Smith finds this expropriation dehumanizing and compares himself to an animal : "They give us a bit of blue ribbon and a cup for a prize after we've shagged overselves out running or jumping, like race horses, only we don't get so well looked-after as race horses, that's the only thing" (p. 8). [10]

Sillitoe's story has disturbed many critics because he makes his unrepentent criminal sympathetic and seems to offer Smith's anarchistic views without ironic qualification. Allen R. Penner, while admitting that Smith's views seem close to those expressed in later fiction by Sillitoe, sees a more hopeful implication in the story than the hero's nihilistic position :

> The tale suggests that the governors of the world, who are the instruments of social order, must come to know that order is not in itself an end . . . . Conversely, what the Smiths of the world must recognize is that conceptions of human dignity are not the prerogative of any one social class—and that anarchy and social chaos are less likely to lead to freedom than to tyranny.[11]

Closer to the tone of the story is James Gindin's suggestion that the world of Sillitoe's fiction is expressed by a dominant metaphor, that of the 'jungle' where man is

> governed by unjust and inhumane restrictions, confronted with the essential cruelty and stupidity of human nature . . . where creature fights creature without order or principle.[12]

The Borstal system described in the story does not succeed because at its base is a failure of understanding. The in-laws do not understand the out-laws, and despite Smith's claim that he can "see further into" the governor than the governor can see into him, Smith sees with a jaundiced eye. The central problem is that both Smith and the governor make the mistake of assuming that a classification of humanity according to the terms 'in-law' and 'out-law' is in any sense

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meaningful. What the story suggests, is that such simplisitic categorizing is at the base of much human agony. The art of fiction is one means of promoting understanding between individuals and this story conveys what the 'out-law' point of view is.

Smith discovers that his wife's run is a struggle for survival. That principle is a family heritage : "Running had always been made much of in our family, especially running from the police" (p. 6). In an interview with John Halperin, Sillitoe said, "I suppose I'm still running—I don't know what from. Running away from emptiness. I think, is really it."[13] Similarly, his hero's wry acceptance of the fugitive nature of his life is only the first stage of his awareness of life. Soon he encounters a sense of estrangement, of moving out of familiar territory. Out of the womb of prison security, Smith proceeds cautiously towards his realse, "I slink downstairs through all the corridors to the big outside world". As Frederick Karl puts it, "For Smith, running is a source of freedom; he becomes one with nature as he swiftly races along the path outside the prison walls."[14] However successful others may be in 'owning' the athlete's body, which like a factory's machine, is well-maintained, powerful, efficient, and smoothly functional, they can never control his mind, subdue his emotions, quash his spirit, or quell his independent will. Thus Smith retains a vital freedom of thought and feeling or an unsubduable psychological independence that those around him fail to acknowledge Smith deliberately loses the race that he could easily win; in so doing, he unmistakably asserts a fundamental human freedom not to suborn himself, not to conform, and not comply. Frederick Karl sums up the whole argumnt thus :

> Sillitoe has in operation here two conflicting ideas of society : the social "normality"of the governor, with his corrupted values, and the personal defiance of the angry young Borstal boy, with his integrity and purity. Smith proves to himself that he is really a free individual, that the governor, as a member of the state, might imprison him, but he alone controls the ability to run. Smith knows that his fortune is made if he wins the race, but he also recognizes that in another way he will be completely imprisoned if he plays the governor's game. He prefers social ostracization to the loss of inner liberty, and by refusing to win revenges himself on a society which has nothing to offer him. In losing the battle, he wins his war.[15]

So by deliberately refusing to win the race, Smith reaffirms the importance of daring, risk, unpredictability, and personal autonomy.

The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner contains the seeds of

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revolutionary philosophy. At the base of Sillitoe's moral perspective is the conviction expressed by Smith that those who are in accord with the present organization of society "don't see eye to eye with us and we don't see eye to eye with them, so that's how it stands and how it will always stand." The position permits two possible conclusions : an impasse or revolution. Rebellion is the path that Sillitoe seems to have chosen. Smith makes the point with brutal clarity :

> In the end the governor is going to be doomed while blokes like me will take the pickings of his roasted bones and dance like maniacs around his Borstal's ruins (p. 46).

Implicitly, there is a recognition of individuality and the inner self, persistent and defiant even in a mechanized world. For Smith, as for Arthur Seaton in *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, it is an affirmation of the unsubduable "thoughts and secrets of the bloody life" within—including the essential freedom of not to conform, not to "play along", not to win for others' sakes, and not to live by others' expectations and desires.

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HEMINGWAY'S HUMANIST OUTLOOK — A STUDY OF *A FAREWELL TO ARMS*

S. S. Sangwan and Satyapal Dahiya

A look at the critical studies of Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* would show that some of the essential features of the writer's vision in this novel have either not received the due emphasis or they have not been properly presented. One notices with some disappointment that many critics of this novel have discussed it primarily as a projection of Hemingway's life and personality. Some critics like Baker[1] have also turned their attention to questions of technique and discussed the scheme of mountain-plain symbolism in the novel. From the point of view of technique, the novel has also been treated by a vast majority of critics as a work in the tradition of naturalism. What critics have not properly discussed is the nature of the artistic vision Hemingway has projected through this novel. Of course, the vision affirmed through the novel is rooted in Hemingway's personality, but that does not mean that anything or everything that Hemingway did or said in his life is either relevant to or important for a study of the integrated set of values which find expression in this work. Similarly, since the vision of life Hemingway projects through the novel will inevitably require choice of an appropriate technique, a study of the technical aspects of the work is also essential. But exclusive concentration on questions of technique does not prove helpful. We have to keep our attention focussed on the values and attitudes the writer projects through the work. It is not that critics have ignored this imprortant question altogether. But most critics who discuss Hemingway's vision as an artist have put excessive emphasis on one aspect of his values or the other. Some of these critics view the novel as an example of Hemingway's pessimistic and even nihilistic view of life. For Schneider, for example, this novel is an expression only of "bitterness, a disgust, a desolation of soul, a remorse . . . ."[2] On the other hand, there are critics who read the novel as an affirmation of stoic dignity and course. They read it as a dramatization of the Christian mode of salvation. None of the critics who discuss Hemingway's artistic vision has been able to reach the heart of the novel which, it seems, lies in its very powerful dramatisation of the central principles of liberal humanism.

This failure on the part of most critics to define the essential nature of Hemingway's vision has led to some utterly misleading conclusions about Henry, the protagonist of the novel. E.M. Halliday, for example, views him as "afflicted by a paralysis of the will."[3]

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Aldridge also regards him as a yong man who goes to the war only for the sake of romance. He feels that Henry's main objective was to experience "the excitement of death without the pain of it."[4] Critics like Halliday conclude that the protagonist's actions are not motivated by any will, lofty purpose, concern or ideal. However, this is not borne out by a careful study of the novel which, as a matter of fact, gives an eloquent expression to profound humanistic concerns. Hemingway's concept of humanism has not been presented in this novel in crude or explicit terms. The subtlety of presentation becomes clear when we realize the implications of the juxtaposition of three different points of view in the novel only one of which takes us in the right direction and the other two represent wrong choices. The true character of Henry's response to the situation in which he is placed is more sharply understood when we see it in comparison with the religious and cynically sceptical attitudes represented by characters like the priest on the one hand, and Rinaldi on the other. It would, perhaps, be pertinent to say a few words at first about the religious and the sceptical attitudes which offer a striking contrast to the principles of humanism represented in the novel mainly by Frederic Henry.

The religious attitude presented in the novel is based upon an absolute devotion to something other than one's self which transcends the human society as well. The object of devotion is of supreme value, here precluding any doubt or uncertainty. The object of devotion may be some god, a diety or even some cosmic moral principle. Such an attitude does not leave any scope for an individual's freedom of choice. It demands complete subservience to the object of devotion without any fluctuations or vacillations. It, therefore, interferes with the individual's attempt to strike a harmonious relationship with the social pressures in life in accordance with his own will and understanding or their nature. It dictates the terms on which the individual should establish his relationship with his fellow beings in the society and these terms usually take the form of a fixed code in the defining of which no margin is given for changes taking place in society from time to time. Religion in this authoritative form, Hemingway believes, tends to weaken and enslave human personality and should not for this reason be considered desirable or acceptable.

The priest in the novel is a perfect representative of the religious challenges coming up before him which can, when taken as a whole, help us in understanding the essential nature of the religious or dogmatic attitude. He looks at everything through his fanatically religious eye-glasses. No wonder that his faith in religion fails to provide him with an insight into the causes of war. Nor does it enable him to visualise any practical solutions to this problem. All that he is

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left with is his nostalgic yearning to go to Abruzzi where the "could love God" and "be respected".[5] He loves Abruzzi for its simple people who raise their hats to strangers and call them lords. The inadequacy of the religious response to the challenges of modern life, thus, stands revealed through the immaturity and shallowness of the priest's reactions. The novel makes clear two weaknesses which are inherent in the religious attitude typified by the priest. First, his simple mind conditioned by his faith in Christianity cannot comprehend the intricacies of war. He only feels baffled by them like a child caught up in a storm. Secondly, the priest manifests a marked tendency to shrink away from the real human issues. His thoughts and actions are motivated by the abstract ideals of his own religion which become a cover for his cowardice. He, therefore, demonstrates no serious practical concern and commitment to the welfare of human beings caught up in the catastrophic events of war. This is an evidence enough for showing the religious attitude in an unfavourable light.

The other attitude, which is strikingly different both from the religious attitude discussed above and the humanistic one projected by the writer through Henry, is that of crude scepticism or cynicism. To a cynic, broadly speaking, there is nothing sacred in human life and there is nothing for which one should be ready to stake everything. He repudiates devotion altogether and denies the validity of commitment to any particular object, principle or ideal. If he can be said to be committed to anything, it is to the satisfaction of his own biological needs and pleasures. A cynic regards life as a series of happenings in which no end except bare survival has absolute value. For him the notions of good and evil are purely formal terms without any durable substance. That is why he does not feel the necessity for constant devotion to any object. He relies upon his intelligence to choose any course of action that suits the occasion but fails to perceive that one can accumulate through one's experiences a wisdom that could be profitably applied by the individual concerned to his future course of action.

Rinaldi in the novel appears as a convincing example of this cynical attitude towards life. He has no object of devotion. As a sceptic, he has been reading the "black pig". For him neither God nor any noble human values exist. He describes himself as a "snake of reason"[6] and sees no difference between love and lust. For him there is only one difference between taking a woman and a girl; with a girl the physical experience is more painful, that is all. He has no commitment beyond his biological self or the external code of his profession as a surgeon which he has perforce to adopt in the Italian army. He has, no doubt, an acute enough perception of the hypocrisies and falsities in the surrounding environment. He knows

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the rottenness of the war. But in the absence of inner strength that comes from faith in the noble potentialities of man, he turns a cynic and finds temporary refuge in wine and women. He cannot think of man-woman relationship beyond the physical plain of sensual excitement. He ridicules the spiritual aspects of love. In short, there is nothing worthy of reverence in human life for the sceptical attitude chiefly represented by the character of Rinaldi.

The principles of liberal humanism which are the real centre of strength of *A Farewell To Arms* are strikingly different from the religious as well as the sceptical attitudes. These principles demand an individual's commitment to an object beyond his primitive or biological self. This object of devotion may be some principle or a set of principles, a social cause or an ideal of human fellowship at the level of individuals. But its essence in every case is faith in some noble possibilities of life which may not be defined in very clear terms and which may not be visible in the immediate surroundings and yet are nevertheless real and important. The humanistic attitude is thus similar to the religious attitude in having an object of devotion. It is this devotion to some object or set of values that gives unity to the discordant impulses of the individual within himself and enables him to resist narrow loyalties and group pressures being exerted on him from outside. The object of devotion in the case of a humanist, however, is not rigidly defined for all times nor does it lie outside time even if it is not visible in the present moment. A deep and constant devotion to this type of object would enable the individual not only to fulfill the need of harmony and equilibrium with his conditions of existence, it will also press him to move on to a higher plane of awareness, reasoning and imagination. When this object has validity only for one individual and it is assumed that each one of us will try to find out the object valid for himself alone, the humanistic affirmation is within the framework of liberalism.

Frederic Henry represents the principles of liberal humanism quite convincingly in the novel. The war-experience does come as a great blow to him and the shattering experience makes him prone to scepticism bordering on cynicism. But he does not live and act in a state of moral vacuum for long and his humanism does assert itself soon, albeit, in an attenuated form. He had come to the battlefront to serve humanity. He was inspired by his humanistic fervour to face hazards and dangers of war even in lands which are hundreds of miles away from his home. And his commitment to humanity does not break down under the severest test. The way he drives the ambulance and brings chocolate for his fellow beings under bombardment provides evidence of his devotion to something beyond his biological self. At

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the dressing station he insists on accepting medical aid only after those who are wounded more seriously have been attended to. Even when wonded he does not want to go back to his home. He has come as a volunteer and chooses to go again to the battlefront after his recovery from the wound. This is an evidence of a firm devotion to the principle of human service even at the risk of his own life and comforts. As a liberal humanist, virtue for him lies in acting in accordance with the best impulses which exist in every individual, and which embrace all humanity in fellowship. He does his duties not out of obedience to some authority outside him but out of an inner devotion to the cause. His humanistic commitment enables him to enter into meaningful relationships with others. He is fighting to protect certain ways and values of life. And in this he relies only upon his human potentialities, his own inner strength and not upon any external or transcendent source like christianity or books like the *Black Pig.* Frederic Henry overcomes his ego and identifies himself with his struggling fellowbeings and through his devotion to this ideas tries to make his life purposive and meaningful.

A Farewell To Arms is a record of how the protagonist responds to challenges in life in his onward march to self-realisation. The inexorable and ruthless process of the logic of human life forces him to fall back upon his personal sources for strength. It is only through his unflinching devotion to the sanctity of human personality and a reverence for human life and freedom that he can muster sufficient strength to face difficult challenges. Impelled by his humanistic impulses, he even goes to the extent of revolting against the mechanical and inhuman discipline of the military world. He demonstrates his power of perception and asserts his will by taking the crucial decision to jump into the river in order to save himself from the inslaughts on his personal freedom. He has been a disciplined soldier and shoots the sergeant when the latter treacherously deserts them as the ambulance gets stuck in the mud. This attitude is different from that of the carabinieres at the bridge who are totally indifferent and even callous in their response to the conditions prevailing at the time of such a big and chaotic retreat. The absurdity of their obsession with rigid military discipline is evident from the following dialogue :

'Your brigade ?'

He told them.

'Regiment'?

He told them.

'Why are you not with your regiment ?'

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He told them.

'Do you now know that an officer should be with his troops.'

He did.

That was all. Another officer spoke.

'It is you and such as you that have let the barbarians onto the sacred soil of the fatherland.'

'I beg your pardon', said the lieutenant-colonel.

'It is because of treachery such as yours that we have lost the fruits of victory.'

'Have you ever been in a retreat ?' the lieutenant colonel asked.

'Italy should never retreat'.[7]

The high flown rhetoric and the illogical obsession with mechanical military discipline of these characters leave one in no doubt that Henry's act of jumping into the river is neither an act of treachery nor an act of cowardly escape. On the contrary, it is a brave act of intelligence and will against the forces of madnes, necessary for protecting and preserving the sanctity of human personality. The situation has been forced upon him. He never feels happy without his military uniform and is always haunted by war memories wherever he goes. He is not a runaway slave but a defender of the rights of human personality which are dear to him.

As in war, so in love, Henry's behaviour is illustrative of Hemingway's commitment to humanism. Love for Rinaldi, a cynical sceptic, is a mere sexual orgy which is over in just half an hour or fifteen minutes. It overwhelms him with disgust and despair but Henry, like a true humanist, brings to his sexual life with Catherine the finer human feelings of companionship, sympathy and mutual regard. The love which began as a casual sexual affair grows into a mature and passionate love based upon the involvement of their full personalities. It leads both of them to mutual fulfilment. Their love enables Henry to wash out the bad taste of his encounter with the carabinieres. They make a home which gives them peace and delight. It may be mentioned here in passing that the humanism which is being affirmed through Henry is not as bold and comprehensive as it should be at its best. The tradition of liberal humanism to which Hemingway belongs goes into a defensive posture in the twentieth century. The only viable course to protect one's freedom and self respect is seen now in a strategic withdrawal which leaves scope for selective involvement with others through personal relationships alone.

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Henry's love is not stultified or cramped by any formal religion as is the case with the priest. The latter can love only God and cannot think of loving a woman. He is awfully embarrassed when he is asked whether he has ever loved a woman.

"How about loving woman ? If I really loved some woman would it be like that ?"

"I don't know about that, I never loved any woman."

"What about your mother ?"

"Yes, I must have loved my mother."

"Did you always love God ?"

"Ever since I was a little boy."[8]

The priest's embarrassment at the question and his evasive reply are an evidence of how his religion has incapacitated him for normal human experience. He can love only the abstract God and not a real human being. He associates love with the original Sin. His religion, therefore, has only crippled and paralysed his human emotions. This is in sharp contrast to Henry's love with Catherine which is based upon the acknowledgement of fundamental human needs. He is not haunted by any feeling of guilt while making love to Catherine. It is, in fact, an ennobling experience for him.

The human content of Henry's attitude to love and marriage is best revealed when we see him in revolt against rigidly conventional morality of Ferguson. While for Ferguson the basis for morality is a conventional code derived from christianity, for Catherine and Henry their natural human love is their religion. Ferguson curses Henry for Catherine's pre-marital pregnancy. But Henry and Catherine have no pangs of conscience for what they have done. They believe that the formal ceremony of marriage can be dispensed with in war times. In fact, it is not the stamp from the priest but sincerity of commitment, purity of will and passionate mutual involvement that lead to fruitful gratification and give sanctity to love and marriage.

Before concluding this discussion, it may be worthwhile to examine briefly Hemingway's attitude to success in life. Here, too, he shows his identification with the liberal humanist tradition. He attributes to the society around him a view of success which is crudely materialistic. The view of success based upon wealth and social reputation clashes violently with Hemingway's view of man's happiness and fulfilment. The writer treats Count Greffi in a sarcastically ironic manner for his pride in playing billiard so well. His

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notion of success in terms of playing a game well or living for a hundred years is in sharp contrast with Henry's notion of success which is based upon commitment to some noble human cause and living a life of purposive action and integrity. Henry's humanistic code of values does not admit any element of careerism or self-aggrandisement. He joined the Italian army as a missionary and not to become a colonel which is the motivating force in the case of Ettore. Ettore is in the Italian army not because he is dedicated to the cause of his country; it is only a kind of investment. The way he boasts about his wounds and scars and displays them to the public further reveals how keen he is to impress people and make a name and reputation for himself in the society. Henry, on the contrary, serves silently, suffers gracefully and has no hunger for any public rewards. As a humanist, his concept of success is based upon responsible behaviour, honest discharge of duties and purity and integrity of will in the struggle for a cause which is on a higher plane than the biological self but is neither transcendent nor abstract.

Thus throughout the novel the force that moves Hemingway to creative efforts can be defined as that of humanism. The novel is a demonstration of the creative powers of this philosophy. A clear recognition of the nature of humanism affirmed in the novel would afford new insights into Hemingway's fiction.

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TRANSLATING 'THE LOVE SONG OF J. ALFRED PRUFROCK'

R.C. Kapoor

While speaking on "Translating T.S. Eliot's Poetry into Malayalam" at the T.S. Eliot Centenary Seminar Professor Ayyappa Paniker said that all poetry is beyond translation. Yet he had translated *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock, The Waste Land,* and *East Coker.* He was suggesting what I believe that translation can never be exact. Yet I have heard people say that translation should be exact. Saying so is to disregard the fact of different nuances of different languages. Hence this explanation of my experience of translating *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* into Hindi is no apologia, although I would not curse my critics as Sir Philip Sidney did the detractors of poetry. I believe that the translation of a poem should read like a poem; the audience must feel that it is a poem.

To the stock question why I translated *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* I answer that it is altogether a matter of personal preference. Moreover, I have seen around me the dandees and the women who come and go and talk of Michaelangelo and have measured out their lives with coffee spoons. I do not think that I am myself very different from Prufrock.

While translating this poem I have faced the usual difficulties which a translater faces with reference to the source language and the target language. To begin with, I do not know the language of the epigraph to the poem. I read the prose translation in English and then worked out the verse translation in Hindi. The epigraph must be translated since it is integral to the poem. I have translated 'fear of infamy' as 'भय न अपकीर्ति' in stead of 'अपकीर्ति का भय' since the latter did not fit into the rhythm I had already started on.

My attempt to translate the title of the poem set me thinking whether the allusions and the names of places and persons should be changed. I thought of possible substitutions for Prufrock as, for example, फिसड्डी लाल, अंग्रेज़ी लाल, अनोखे लाल, पोपट लाल, फिसफिस लाल । However, I was all the time conscious of the ironic exposure involved in the prosaic title, the name of the protagonist, and the love song which is never sung. Hence I translated the title as 'जे एलफ्रेड प्रूफराक का प्रेम गीत' । Once this was settled I did not change the names of places and persons. Still the point is debatable. The translator addresses himself to a native audience with a different cultural context and the translation must be

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meaningful to this audience. I think Dr. B.N. Raina's substitution of 'Ghablib' for 'Prufrock' in his Urdu translation, makes it more meaningful to us. Translation involves transliteration and transcreation. I have used the image of the dancing peacock, which is not there in the original poem, in the words 'मैं मोरपंख फैलाता' after 'sprinkled streets'. I would like to know whether the translator has this kind of poetic licence. I was even tempted to interpret 'sprinkled' as referring to rain and thereby translate it as 'बूंदाबांदी'।

Translation always involves the problem of interpretation. This problem is there even in the case of appreciating the poem in the source language. There may be a cosmic image in the words 'Do I dare/Disturb the universe ?' Yet I would not translate 'the universe' as 'ब्रह्मांड'। I have translated it as 'व्यवस्था' since I take it as referring to a particular order of life. Similarly I have translated the 'overwhelming question' as 'दुर्दमनीय शंका' since it refers to an issue which cannot be resolved. I have used the word 'बेचर्बी' for 'thin' (with reference to arms and legs) since I think that it is not so much a matter of the pathos of physiological make-up or feebleness of limbs of Prufrock as, by contrast, of the grossness of flesh and physicality in the social order around him. This is confirmed later on through the reference to the eyes and the arms of the ladies in the room. Since 'measured out' refers to triviality, I have related the words 'माप चुका हूँ' to 'जीवन के उफानों को'. Similarly I have translated the implication of 'walk up on the beach' as 'बालू-तट पर शान दिखाऊँ'.

I have not tried to equal Eliot in the poetic excellence of his rhythms because I cannot. I have rather tried to emulate the spirit of his poem, perhaps having at the back of my mind the advice of I.A. Richards to follow sense, feeling, tone and intention in a poem. Hence the oblique method, the ironic mode, the mock-heroic elements, the fusion of the colloquial and the lyrical, the free verse, the use of rhyme, the interrogatives and the repetitive patterns in my translation also.

While translating the poem I discovered that the most popular words, phrases and lines are the most difficult to translate. The word 'then' in the very first line indicates tension and conflict; yet it cannot be translated into Hindi due to the different syntax of the target language. Other notable omissions in my translation are 'sawdust', 'insidious intent', 'shirt sleeves'. I could not find suitable Hindi equivalents in these cases. I have deliberately omitted the translation of 'white' used with 'flannel trousers' since it does not effect the meaning, but if translated it would have adversely affected the rhythm in my translation.

In certain cases I have deliberately elaborated the meaning in my

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translation. This is done in translating 'To prepare a face to meet the faces that you meet' and 'Do I date/Disturb the universe ?' My purpose is to bring out fully the implication in these significant lines. The elaboration is not dictated by the Shelleyian sweep of lyric emotion, for I have learnt from Galsworthy in the *Strife* that one must know where to stop. I have added the words 'एक सुर ताल' to the translation of 'They will say" since this meaning is implied and also it fitted into the rhythmical scheme.

In the case of repetitive patterns. I have made certain changes due to the demands of the target language. Hence 'long fingers" become 'लम्बी लम्बी 'उंगलियां'; 'known' is at first 'जान चुका हूँ' and then 'पहचान चुका हूँ'. I have used different phrases for 'would it have been' for emphasis and intensification of effect through progressive movement. Such phrases are 'और फिर', 'इस पर', 'तिस पर'. I have even changed the order of words, phrases and lines (without disturbing the meaning), especially in the case of the passage wherein the word 'time' is repeatedly used since it created a better effect in line with the demands of the target language.

I have made certain other changes also. I have changed the exclamatory 'No ! I am not' into the interrogative 'कौन कहता है' since this expression is rather more effective in Hindi. I have translated 'nor was meant to be' as 'हो ही नहीं सकता'. I have omitted 'meticulous'. I have combined 'obtuse' and 'the Fool' to mean 'बेतुका विदूषक' । On the whole, I have preferred the colloquial to the non-colloquial; 'बतियाती' for talking of, 'आती जाती' for 'come and go', 'बतिया' for 'spit out', 'टोंटे' for 'butt-ends', 'पोथी' for 'novels'. This applies to other words I have used for implied meaning, viz. दम, दबंग मलंग, गंज I hope it will create an audience since the audience does not pre-exist in the case of a translation.

जे० एलफ्रेड प्रूफरॉक का प्रेम गीत

यदि मानता यह मैं मुखातिब हूँ किसी से
लौट सकता वह कभी इस गर्त से
आग की यह लौ कभी न थरथराती
यदि सत्य है जो सुनता आया हूँ सभी से
लौट न पाया कोई इस नरक से
भय न अपकीर्ति मुझको सताती
लो मुखातिब हूँ तुम्हीं से

आओ चलें तुम और मैं
जब शाम बेसुध पड़ी हो
आकाश की बाँहों मे
जैसे सुन्न पड़ा हो मरीज़
ईथर की राहों में
आओ गुजरें उन अधजगी गलियों से
जहाँ हों
ढाबों के नरम खानों के बाद
बेचैन रातें
और ढुलमुल बातें
जहाँ हों सर्पीली गलियां

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एक उबाऊ तर्क सी
ले जाती हुई
एक दुर्दमनीय शंका तक
मत पूछो मुझ से
यह बात क्या है
बस चले चलो

कमरे में औरतें आती जाती हैं
और माइकल एंजलो के बारे में बतियाती हैं

खिड़कियों के शीशे पर
पीठ रगड़ता हुआ पीला कोहरा
थूथन रगड़ता हुआ पीला धुआँ
ले गया स्वाद
ललचाई जीभ से
शाम के किनारों का
रुका रहा कुछ देर
देखने के लिए
ठहरी हुई नालियों की पनीली गंदगी
गिरने दी उसने
अपनी पीठ पर
चिमनियों की कज्जली कालिख
खिसक गया चुपचाप
मुंडेर से
एक ही कुदान में
अक्तूबर की शान्त रात में
मकान की एक परिक्रमा की
और सो गया

हर बात का आता है वक्त
गलियों में सरकते
खिड़कियों के शीशों पर पीठ रगड़ते
इस पीले धुंए का भी
जरूर आएगा वक्त
आता है वक्त
आएगा वक्त
अपना चेहरा सजा कर
सजे-सजाए चेहरों से
मिलने-मिलाने का वक्त
चेहरों का चेहरों से
आँख लड़ाने का वक्त
मिटाने और बनाने का वक्त
मुट्ठी में बातों को उठाने का वक्त
और उन्हें आँचल में गिराने का वक्त
तुम्हारे और मेरे लिए वक्त
चाय नाश्ते से पहले
सैंकड़ों फैसलों को झुठलाने का वक्त
सैकड़ों सपनों को सजाने का वक्त
और उन्हें सीने में छुपाने का वक्त
जरूर आता है वक्त
जरूर आएगा वक्त

कमरे में औरतें आती जाती हैं
और माइकल एंजलो के बारे में बतियाती हैं

जरूर आएगा वक्त
अचरज करने का
"क्या मुझमें दम है ?
है क्या मुझमें दम ?"

या आ गया है वक्त
लिए अपनी गंज
मुँह फेर कर
सीढ़ियां उतर जाने का
वरना वह कह देंगी एक सुर ताल
कितने झीने हैं इस बेचारे के बाल
सफेद कोट के बीच
ठोडी चूमते कालर के बीच
प्रभावित करने को है लगाई
पिन से जड़ी टाई
भड़कीली और लाल
वह जरूर कह बैठेंगी एक सुर ताल
देखो इसकी बे-चर्बी बाहों और टांगों का कमाल
क्या मैं हूँ इतना दबंग
कि कर सकूं व्यवस्था की शान्ति भंग ?
भला कौन छेड़-छाड़ करे ज़माने से
और फिर क्या फायदा इसे आज़माने से
क्षण भर में आता है वक्त

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फैसलों को जुटाने का वक्त
उनके संशोधित संस्करण बनाने का वक्त
और उन्हें औंधे मुंह गिराने का वक्त

मैं पहले ही
जान चुका हूँ
इन सब को
पहचान चुका हूँ
इन सब को
जान चुका हूँ
इन शामों को
सवेरों को
अपराह्नों को
मैं माप चुका हूँ
कॉफी के चम्मच से
जीवन के उफानों को
दूर के कमरे से आते
अवरोही संगीत तले
दबी आवाज़ों के अवसानों को
फिर किस साहस से करूं
व्यवस्था की शान्ति भंग ?

मैं पहले से ही
जान चुका हूँ
इन आँखों को
पहचान चुका हूँ
इन आँखों को
जो सूत्रबद्ध कर देती हैं
एक सूक्ति में
और जब मैं सूत्रबद्ध हो जाता हूँ
सूत्र से जकड़ा
दीवार पर पसरा
कुलबुलाता हूँ
सूत्र से छिदा
छटपटाता हूँ
तब तुम ही कहो
मैं कैसे बतिया पाऊं
अपने जीवन की दिनचर्या के
टोंटे कैसे गिनाऊं
कैसे बनूं मलंग
कि कर सकूं व्यवस्था की शान्ति भंग ?
कैसे करूं प्रारम्भ ?

मैं पहले से ही
जान चुका हूँ
इन बाहों को
पहचान चुका हूँ
इन बाहों को
कंगन में सुसज्जित बाहों को
इन श्वेत-वर्णित बाहों को
इन नग्न असज्जित बाहों को
इन दीपालोकित बाहों को
क्या यह खुशबू है
किसी परिधान की
जो बन जाती है भटकन
मेरी जुबान की ?
मैं जान चुका हूँ
इन बाहों को
जो पड़ी हैं मेज़ की ढाल में
या लिपटी हैं शाल में
फिर कैसे बनूं दबंग
कि कर सकूं व्यवस्था की शान्ति भंग ?
कैसे करूं प्रारम्भ ?

क्या मैं कह दूं
मैं गुज़रा हूँ
संध्या के झुटपुटे में
तंग गलियों से
और देखा है
खिड़कियों की चौखट पर बाहें टिकाए
एकाकी पुरुषों को
चिलमों से धुँआ उड़ाते ...
काश मैं जीर्ण-शीर्ण पंजों का
इक जोड़ा होता
और शान्त समुद्र के
आरपार की भागड़ में
अपनापन खोता

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लम्बी लम्बी उंगलियों से सहलाई गई
अपराह्न सोई है शान्त
शाम सोई है शान्त
पसर गई है फर्श पर यहाँ
तुम्हारे और मेरे पास
सो गई है
थक गई है
या लेट गई है
मिथ्यारोगी सी
क्या मैं चाय और केक ठूस कर
और बर्फ़ का गोला चूस कर
बन जाऊँ सक्षम
और इस क्षण को जी लूं

इसके चरमबिन्दु का
रस तो पी लूं
कितने ही उपवास किए हैं मैंने
कितने ही आँसू भी पिए हैं मैंने
प्रार्थी बन दिन-रात जिए हैं मैंने
पर मैं पैगम्बर नहीं बना
देखा है अपने गंजे सिर को
थाली में आते
होती कोई बड़ी बात तो बताते
देखा है अपनी महानता को पल भर
देखा है नियति के शाश्वत प्रहरी को
पकड़ते अपना कालर
देखा है उसको ठीठी करते
देखा है खुद को हास्यास्पद बनते
और सच तो यह है
मैं डर गया था

और फिर क्या सार्थक हो जाता
प्यालों और निवालों संग
मैं यदि मुरब्बे खाता
चीनी-मिट्टी की सजधज संग
अपने और तुम्हारे बारे में बतियाता
इस पर भी क्या हो जाता
यदि कोई भी बात पकड़
मैं मुस्काता जाता
ऐंठ कर दुनिया को
मैं गेंद बनाता

किसी दुर्दमनीय शंका तक
इसको लुढ़काता
और कह जाता
मैं लैज़रस हूँ
मैं मृत्युलोक से आया हूँ
मैं सब बतलाऊंगा
सब कुछ समझाऊंगा
तिस पर भी क्या हो जाता
यदि सिर तले तकिया जमाती कोई नार
कहीं कह देती इक बार
"मेरा अभिप्राय यह तो नहीं था
मैंने यह तो नहीं कहा था"

और फिर क्या हो जाता ?
यदि सूर्यास्त के बाद
मैं बाड़े में इतराता
छिड़काव हुई गलियों में
मैं मोरपंख फैलाता
यदि पोथी पढ़ पढ़
मैं प्याले खनकाता
यदि फर्श चूमते
लंहगों में भरमाता
बस यही नहीं
कुछ और खेल कर पाता
क्या इससे कुछ हो जाता ?
मैं कह नहीं सकता
क्या अभिप्राय है मेरा

कोई चित्रशेपी लालटेन
चित्रपट पर
स्नायु के प्रतिरूप बनाता
तिस पर भी क्या हो जाता
यदि सिर तले तकिया जमाती
अदा से शाल हटाती
खिड़की पर नज़र टिकाती

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कोई नार
कहीं कह देती इक बार
"मैंने यह तो नहीं कहा था
मेरा यह अभिप्राय नहीं था"

कौन कहता है मैं हैमलेट हूँ
मैं हैमलेट हो ही नहीं सकता
मैं तो सहवर्ती सामन्त हूँ
मैं फूले अंग नहीं समाता
मैं तो प्रगति का महन्त हूँ
मैं हर नौटंकी का आकार हूँ
हर राजा का सलाहकार हूँ
मैं निस्संदेह कठपुतली हूँ
श्रद्धालु हर्ष की पुतली हूँ
नीतिकुशल हूँ, चौकस हूँ
शब्दाडम्बर का रस हूँ
हास्यास्पद हूँ, बोगस हूँ
बेतुका विदूषक हूँ

मैं बुढ़ा रहा हूँ . . . मैं बुढ़ा रहा हूँ
अधोभाग पतलून का उल्टा रहा हूँ

क्या मैं अपनी गंज छुपाऊँ ?
दुस्साहस से आड़ू खाऊँ ?

पतलून पहन फलालेन की
बालू-तट पर शान दिखाऊँ ?

मैंने सुना है जलपरियों को गाते
आपस में अपने गीत
मैं नहीं समझता मुझे सुनाएंगी
वह अपना कोई गीत

मैंने देखा है उनको
लहरों पर चढ़ कर
खुले समुंद्र को जाते
लहरों के बालों को
हवा के झोंकों पर इठलाते
मैंने देखा है उनको
लहरों की वेणी बनाते
श्वेत और श्यामल को भरमाते

हम बहुत देर से रुके हुए हैं
सागर के आंचल में
जहाँ अनिलपुष्प से सजी
मत्स्यकन्याएं रहतीं जल में
अब जगा रहे मानव-स्वर
हम अभिभूत सागर-तल में

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LOOK BACK IN ANGER : A FEMINIST APPROACH

Bhagwan Kaur

When first staged on 8th May 1956, John Osborne's *Look Back in Anger* evoked a mixture of different responses from the critics. But interestingly in all the varied reponses to the play critics took trouble only to find reasons for Jimmy's anger. Alison's experience was clearly side-lined. No one cared to pay any attention to her agony, her suffering and her symbolic reticence. Also Jimmy's role was not related to Alison's. If viewed from Alison's angle, the play becomes a strong assertion of male chauvinism. Seeing the play from this angle would also help to show how male sabordination and domination results in the complete erasure of Alison's personality.

The stage setting has its own connotations. The "One room flat"[1] that the Porters live in "not only sheds light to the obvious fact that they cannot live anywhere larger but it seeks to underline and highlight a hothouse of interpersonal relations,"[2] by bringing together in a real and symbolic way all the different living functions that the conventional family abode would have.

The food cupboard occupies a considerable part of the room. It might have suggested a woman's forte, but then it is the small portable radio on it that dominates glaringly. The dining table has three chairs, corresponding to the total number of people in the house, but only "two deep, shabby leather armchairs" (p. 9), occupied by the men as the curtain rises. Why isn't there a third armchair when there are three dining chairs ? His it been deliberately left out by the playwright to suggest the absence of rest and leisure for the woman of the house ? Or does it suggest that all leisurely functions for the woman have been reduced just to eating ?

The curtain rises to reveal a Sunday Morning. The men Jimmy and Cliff, who occupy the armchairs, spend the Sunday morning relaxing and reading the Sunday papers. In contrast, Alison stands working, leaning over an ironing board. This is the reduction of a high-class cultured woman to a low, menial status where ironing and other choices have become an inescapable routine for her. The fact that it is a Sunday brings no respite. The roles clearly have been divided on the lines of a traditional marriage where a woman is expected to work without murmur. Jimmy the man of the house, aged twenty-five, is a man of education, who was married above himself in spite of his prejudice against the middle class. He is, as the play soon makes clear,

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a self-pitying and self-dramatising youth. He is of the firm faith that the world is out of order, but has neither the will nor the conviction to set it right.

The dress worn is also symbolic. Alison is wearing an expensive skirt, but it is dominated by the cherry-red shirt of Jimmy's that she wears on the top which signifies that her whole personality is being dominated by Jimmy. Though coming from a higher social class than her husband's, she has however conformed to the traditional gender roles by accepting his dominance and has moulded herself to fit into his requirements. On the lines of a traditional marriage, their marriage too has been a one-sided compormise. All the sacrifices, have fallen to the woman's share. She has been paying for it all through. But the tragedy is that she is still not absorbed. She is an alienated being, an outsider, a hostage from the upper class, who receives all the angry tirades from Jimmy against her class. Alison represents what a sexist-biased society calls "the cult of true womanhood" by which women are expeted to have the virtues of piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity and men have a divine right to be ruthless, cruel and dominating.

Alison's subordinate role is confirmed as the play moves. In terms of the Stage Setting, she stands at the extreme left, below the food cupboard. The lights are clearly on Jimmy who occupies a central position throughout. Though Alison may apparently dominate the action by standing, the real dominance becomes clear soon. Jimmy is garrulous. He speaks more than all the characters put together. And the mere emotional intensity of his out-bursts is enough to make him carry away the scene, even though what he says is actually empty babble, nothing save hateful, abusive rhetoric, most unbecoming of an educated young man.

Jimmy is a rebel in class terms but Alison, too, is a revel. She has revolted against her parents to marry a person from a comparatively lower strata of society. But the stage clearly belongs to Jimmy. Not once does the playwright divert his focus, not once are we allowed to see or feel Alison's side of things. When she leaves the house, we do not move outside to experiene the pain that she wades through. The playwright makes us stay with Jimmy to show an angry young man, to hear his continuous railery and banter. Where Jimmy is central, Alison stands marginalized.

Critics may be right in seeing the play as a play of class-conflicts, but more clearly it is a play of the conflict of the sexes. Alison epitomises for Jimmy all that he hates in the upper class, but it is not

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always on the basis of her class that she is attacked. Class can be one reason for the assault. But it is her femaleness that is the main target. The very coincidence that she is a woman is enough reason for her to be prosecuted. Michelene Wandor is right when she avers that it was possible for the playwright to choose a man to embody the class conflict, but when the playwright deliberately chose a woman, he certainly had something else in mind "It indicates that the play's primary concern is not class, but a turmoil in Jimmy's mind, about the nature of his masculine identity of which class is but a secondary component."[3] Alison might be superior because of her class, but Jimmy makes sure to harmer into her that he is superior because of his sex.

Throughout Jimmy is a raging, combative, pugnacious bore. He does not like to let a single opportunity of hurting Alison slip by. Constantly shouting at her, he abuses not only her, but her whole family in the most distasteful manner. One is shocked at the language used for Alison's mother :

"... that old bitch should be dead !"

And more shocking and surprising is the fact that he wants Alison to join in approbation in his onslaughts.

> Jimmy : .... (to Alison) Well ? Aren't I right ? *Cliff and Helena look at Alison tensely, but she just gazes at her plate.* I said she's an old bitch, and should be dead ! (II, i, p. 53).

Is Jimmy trying to test the limit of Alison's endurance and patience ? One marvels at the woman who has to undergo the test all through. In fact, Jimmy's is a desperate attempt to displease and hurt her and then to sadistically rejoice at it. The stage-directions themselves are enough proof to this. *"The tired appeal in her voice has pulled him up suddenly. But he soon gathers himself for a new assault"* (p. 19). *Jimmy is rather shakily triumphant"* (p. 21). *Jimmy watches her waiting for her to break"* (p. 22) *"He can smell blood again, and he goes on calmly, cheerfully* (p. 55). All these point to his determination to keep his supermacy coming as it were, from his neurotic psyche. In such instances, one tends to agree with Stephen Williams that he is a character "who can be shaken into sense by being ducked in a horse pond or sentenced to a lifetime of cleaning latrines."[4] It is surprising that anyone could have lived with him for so many years. Jimmy probably married Alison because he saw her as a challenge and all that followed was revenge. And as Alison confesses to her father later, living with him had been a trial for her.

Marriage has been a nightmare for Alison. Immediately after it she had to bear with not only Jimmy but with Hugh too, his friend, with all

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their savage mannerisms. She had to live through many moments of agony, embarrassment and emotional torture as Jimmy and Huge forced themselves with their uncivilized, uncouth and brutal manners on Alison's friends and relatives.

> "I felt I'd been dropped in a jungle. I couldn't believe that two people, two educated people could be so savage and so - so uncompromising . . . They both came to regard me as a hostage from those sections of society they had declared war on" (II, i, p. 43).

Rousseau had insisted that a state of dependence is natural to women, as they are naturally uninclined to learn and that they should have little liberty. He also believed that a husband might even unfairly accuse his wife. Jimmy seems to be his true follower. The accusations levelled are many. Alison is mocked at, ridiculed and condemned for almost everything. She is looked down at for not reading the papers, reproved for having being born in an upper middle-class family and scorned at for having a mother who would according to Jimmy, provide an "indigestible treat" to the worms. Jimmy does not realise that she has no time to read the papers because of her vast job of housekeeping. And then one is convinced the railery would have continued even if she had been different.

Jimmy is an abominabe mixture of an exhibitionist and a sadist. Not only is he extra-vocal about his inconsequential anger, but he likes to be heard too. This is so because he wants to be convinced that his bullets have found their mark. Any doubt about that hurts his ego, and he returns to hit all the more cogently and savagely :

> Jimmy : You can talk, can't you ? You can express an opinion. Or does the White Woman's Burden makes it impossible to think ?
>
> Alison : I'am sorry, I wasn't listening properly.
>
> Jimmy : You bet you weren't listening. Old Porter talks, and everyone turns over and goes to sleep. And Mrs. Porter gets 'em all going with the first yawn.
>
> (I, i, p. 11)

What answer does Mr. Porter expect from Alison and what answer can she give when her mother has been called a bitch. Should she endorse his opinion ? Asking for an answer when there itn't any and demanding that Alison talk, while never giving her a chance to, is Jimmy's favourite bear-baiting tactic. Alison is a total concentrate of his

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class-hatred. Anything that issues from Alison becomes a natural object to attack. When he hears that Helena is coming to stay with them, his quick retort is "One of her old friends. And one of my natural enemies" (p. 35).

Jimmy is one of those who belabour under the illusion of being a great crusader, but sadly enough what they seek is never clear. One could have sided with him if all he was demanding was just a "little animation" (p. 14), if what he wanted was simply to make people get up from their "delicious sloth" (p. 15). But he does not stop here. What he demands is for more irksome. Indeed he is a "tiresome young man" (p. 50) with the sole purpose of being unpleasant especially to his wife. Jimmy demands total allegiance from Alison. Behaving like a child in many ways, he screams for total conformity. He wants her to stop ironing and all activities must come to a standstill just because he is tuning his radio. He expects her to applaud when he talks at length of all the girl-friends he has had. He praises them constantly before her and condemns her all through. He is a smug, self-righteous prig.

Jimmy belongs to that category of men who seek from women much more than they can ever hope to get and when disappointed turn on them with savage bitterness. To him Alison appeared to possess a wonderful relaxation of spirit when he first met her, but he is soon disillusioned. The fault is certainly not Alison's but his own. Alison is the Sleeping Beauty—good looking attractive but passive, hence sought after, but of no value once she is won. He avers with his usual bitter tone. "Sweet and sticky on the outside, but sink your teeth in it *(savouring every word)* inside all white, messy and disgusting" (p. 49).

But in spite of all the verbal onslaughts, in spite of the seemingly apparent heroism, there is a fear lurking beneath. Alison's passion is feared : "She just devours me everytime, as if I were some over-large rabbit" (p. 37). In Jimmy is a kind of sexual passion that he at once loathes as well as longs for. To him even sleep is destructive and consuming. "She'll go on sleeping and devouring until there's nothing left of me" (p. 38). And then the accusation extends to al women : "Why, why, why, why, do we let these women bleed us to death ?" (p. 84).

Alongside the fear of sexuality, another fear working deep down in Jimmy's psyche is the fear of motherhood. This fear too brings out all the bestial qualities in him; sexuality and motherhood are synonymous with femaleness and it is her femaleness that he fears. Motherhood is a mark of woman's superiority and reminds man of his own secondary role in the grand exercise of creation. But this awareness of incompetence is

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stretched to Sadistic instincts in Jimmy and accounts for the wish for embryonic destruction. That is why when it comes to motherhood, Jimmy's imagery becomes morbid and sickening. It would have hardly been objectionable if all he wished was that Alison should have a first-hand experience of suffering, as he feels he himself had. Jimmy most monstrously and heartlessly wishes her child to die. "If you could have a child, and it would die, let it grow, let a recognisable human face emerge from that little mass of india-rubber and wrinkles" (p. 37). That a father could wish this for his own child is loathsome. And worse still he does not stop at that. Afterwords when she is in that state this callous, unfeeling, hard-hearted husband would like to rejoice seeing the miserable wretched state of the wife, "I want to stand in your tears and splash about them and sing. I want to be there, when you grovel... I want the front seat" (p. 59). This is sadism showing its extreme manifestation. It looks all the more gruesome because it comes at a time when Alison is actually pregnant. Later, when he is informed of Alison's pregnancy all he has to say is "I don't care", "I don't care if, she's going to have a baby. I don't care if it has two heads !" (p. 73). However, he does care just enough to see it dead and then enjoy the fun of splashing in her tears. Alison is accepted back only after she has actually lost the child and has even lost the hope of even becoming a mother.

In a marriage like Jimmy and Alison's one person always stands at the receiving end. The ideas, the ideals and the actions of one are always seen to be correct and those of the other are supposed to be wrong. Alison has been so much affected that her own personality and identity apart from Jimmy has been completely effaced. In their four years of married life, it is Alison who has all along been a sufferer. Alison knows Jimmy's reaction towards motherhood. That is why when she becomes pregnant she is apprehensive of even informing him of her pregnancy. The sheer potency of Jimmy's dominance is obvious when Alison herself starts viewing her own self as a kind of sinner. She behaves in a manner as if she has done something wrong and sinful :" . . . he'd feel hoaxed, as if I were trying to kill him in the worst way of all. He'd watch me growing bigger every day and I wouldn't dare to look at him" (p. 29). All this is a result of over-dominance of one personality and his ideas. Communication and sharing, the very foundation-stones on which a happy marriage is built, are conspicuously absent. This is natural as sharing is possible only when two people stand on equal grounds as equal partners, when each respects the individuality of the other apart from her/his own. It is a distant dream when one partner occupies a higher pedestal and always dominates the other. It becomes again impossible when one is

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just reduced to a mere possession by the other. Jimmy is working towards complete erasure of Alison's personality. Alison understands and comprehends this lack of communication when she says, "I suppose it would have been so easy to say "Yes darling. I know just what you mean. I know what you are feeling. It's those easy things that seem to be so impossible with us" (p. 24). She rather finds it easier to have a rapport with Cliff. It is Cliff to whom she confides of her pregnancy. This is because the power-division that works in favour of the male in the patriarchal set-up in marriage is not there in her relationship with Cliff. Cliff recognizes her as a seperate, independent living individual, cares for her and gives her a breathing space. Hence interaction and sharing do not remain a distant possibility, but are actually obtained.

Psychologically viewed, it is the concept of the 'self' and the 'other' that is operative between the husband and wife. It is the concept of taking the second person as 'the other'. The 'other' is seen in everyway different from the 'self', and at no instance is allowed to merge with it. In *Look Back in Anger,* this concept works in many different ways. Jimmy has a sort of fascination for Alison but also a fear of her deep down. He overcomes this fear by snubbing her so as to reassure himself of his own identity.

The 'other' is also seen as everything the 'self' is not. For man, the woman because of her subordinate role through centuries becomes an easy dumping ground, where he can dump all his weaknesses. And tragedy follows when he sees them to be hers. Jimmy sees Alison as "sycophantic phelgmatic and pussillanimous" (p. 21). Her ways are seen to be destructive. Her sitting at the dressing table is likened to butchery : "Did you ever see some dirty old Arab, sticking his fingers into some mess of lamb fat and gristle ? Well, she is just like that . . . Those primitive hands would have your guts out in no time" (p. 24). But he himself is the destructive one. He is violent, abusive and blustering. He cannot ever think of creating, his morbid imagery can only concentrate on destroying. He accuses Alison's mother of spying but that is exactly what he himself does when he searches his wife's handbag, drawers and reads her letters. His anti-feminist attitude holds not only Alison but the whole female sex under attack. Alison's mother is more of a target than the father is. The male friends of Alison, Webster for example, are more easily acceptable than her female friends. He talks of the 'eternal' flaming racket of the female :

> I had a flat underneath a couple of girls once. You heard every damned thing those bastards did, all day and night. The most simple, everyday actions were a sort of assault course to our

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sensibilities. With those two, even a simple visit to the lavatory sounded like a medieval seige . . . Slamming their doors, slamming their high heels, banging their irons and saucepans . . . (I, pp. 24-25).

Paradoxically he is the one who makes all the din and all the clamour.

The feminist idea of Sisterhood too (though a little imperfectly) is seen in the play. It is hinted at, when Helena comes to Alison's aid and makes her realize the inhuman mental torture that the latter had been subjected to. Helena is shown to have a sense of "matriarchal authority" (p. 30). She is a career woman, an actress. She is unmarried and hence more independent than Alison is. Alison finds a relief talking to and confiding in her. There is true interaction and sharing between the two. It is because of Helena that Alison gathers enough courage to go to the church, thus defying Jimmy. And Jimmy is shocked, when he learns this "Have you gone out of your mind or something ?" (p. 51), he roars. That Alison could step out of the parameters he has prescribed, is totally unbelievable to him. Alison's revolt and Jimmy's counter-reaction might have gathered enough sympathies for Alison. But the time of Alison's church-going concides with the time of Hugh's mother's death. And therefore, her going to church is seen as her refusal to be with Jimmy at a time when he most needed her. Alison's act is hence allowed to be adversely judged and Jimmy is shown to be right.

In Act III, instead of Alison, it is Helena who now stands at the ironing board. Jimmy wants total conformity from all the women who would line with him, hence now Helena too is wearing his shirt above her own skirt. Helena is however different from Alison hence the complete domiance is absent. We hear Jimmy addressing Helena as 'darling', an adjective that he never cared to use for his own wife. Soon Helena refuses to stay with Jimmy. Her going off partly may be due to a guilt feeling of the wrong done to Alison, but it is also because she cannot surrender or conform as completely as Jimmy want her to.

The ending of the play again confirms Osborne's male chauvinistic attitude. In the end, Alison comes back to Jimmy. She is now a poor, lost, suffering woman, looking 'rather ill' feeling guilty and foolish for having returned. Again it is she who begs forgiveness and sobs, "I was wrong, I was wrong !" (p. 95). And then, "All I wanted was to die, I never knew what it was like I didn't know it could be like that ! I was in pain . . . I thought if only he could see me now, so stupid, and ugly and ridiculous. This is what he wants to splash about in ! I'm in the fire and I'm burning, and all I want is to die ! It's cost him his child and any others I might have had ! But what does it matter—this is what he

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wanted from me !" (p. 95). The seemingly confessional statement "I was wrong" accompanied by the suicidal wish, really does make it seem as if it was indeed Alison who was wrong all through and that she deserved the suffering she went through. Then comes the powerful visual image when Alison "collapses at his feet. He stands frozen for a moment, then he bends down and takes her shaking body in his arms" (p. 95). They then indulge in their old game of bear and squirrel and seem to find solace. These are the anthropomorpised images of Jimmy and Alison. This bear-squirrel game lend significance to Jimmy's instinctual obsession with his colossus like role and everything else especially Alison seem tiny before him, so puny that it can be easily crushed.

Alison is the sufferer and the loser but she is the one who is still apologetic. The only mistake, as one can see, that she had committed was that she had not attended Hugh's mother's funeral, but neither is Jimmy a paragon of virtue. But here it is a male playwright who holds the strings. He can manipulate the ending the way he wants. The collapse of Alison at Jimmy's feet and he condescending to pick her up undoubtedly places him on a higher pedestal and confirms his own idea of righteousness.

Woman is acceptable to man only if she surrenders completely, conforms to and adapts his standard, mars her individuality to the point of annhilation. Alison is acceptable only when she fulfils the above conditions. But sadly, the last scene does not establish the end of a confrontation. It looks very likely that the whole cycle of attack, torture and collapse shall begin once again once the escapist game of bear and squirrel comes to an end.

This dominance is present because masculine and feminine values have been segregated into seperate water-tight compartments since time immemorial by an implicit super-system that has been operative. The French Feminist Helena Cixous contributed a valuable discussion of the consequences of what she calls "death dealing binary thought." Under the heading "Where is She ?" She lines up the following list of binary oppositions :

Activity/Passivity
Sun/Moon
Culture/Nature
Day/Night
Father/Mother
Head/Emotions
Intelligible/Sensitive
Logos/Pathos[5]

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Corresponding as they do to the underlying opposition Man/Woman, these binary oppositions are heavily embedded in the patriarchal value system. Dominance can only be changed to equality when these arbitrary divisions are obliterated.

FOOTNOTES

1. John Osborne, *Look Back in Anger*, 3rd ed. (1960, rpt. London : Faber and Faber, 1983), p. 9.

   All subsequent quotations have been taken from the above edition and have been incorporated in the text.

2. Michelene Wandor, *Look Back in Gender* (London : Metheun, 1987), p. 8.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

4. Stephen Williams, Evening News, quoted in case book Series of *Look Back in Anger*, 4th ed. (1968; rpt. London : Macmillan Press Ltd., 1978), p. 43.

5. Helena Cixous and Catherine Clement, *The Newly Born Woman* (Manchester : Manchester Univ. Press, 1975), p. 118.

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TENNYSON'S "ULYSSES" : A STYLISTIC INTERPRETATION

Vanashree Tripathy

The paper aims at highlighting certain linguistic hierarchies in Tennyson's poem "Ulysses" with the intention of focussing attention upon the poem's structure. The paper also aims to show how layers of movements within the overall structure of the poem are generated by the use of noun, adverb, verb and adjectival phrases which attempt to catch the quest of the protagonist in varying degrees of intensity and implication.

The poem has come under heavy attack since the late ninteenth century for its downright almost artless call to action, a pre-victorian exaltation of the heroic virtues and correspondingly an attack on loafing as Kingsley Amis puts it. Tennyson's grace and classic charm began to be dismissed as facile sweetness by the later critics. All the security which they thought he reflected was in imminent danger, and impatient as always, youth turned away from him not because he wrote to things they had not experienced and could not understand, but because they thought that Tennyson as a thinker could summarize, and summaries delivered with a whisk of the prophetic cloak are dull and sometimes comic reading.[1] It is my reading that the readers searching for facile conceptual truth, find Ulysses contemplation as quixotic foolhardiness and it has not been easy for them to appreciate the contradiction of moods that "Ulysses" projects. Homeric Ulysses, the man of purpose and action is shown in the poem by Tennyson as roaming aimlessly, merely to relieve his ennui, and dragging his companions to him. However the readers can see that Ulysses not only 'intends' to roam but stands forever listless and melancholic figure on the shore.

It is not for the first time that an archetypal persona is applied to present certain contradictory realities of present time, but it is interesting to discover that Tennyson found himself able to incorporate the direct sense of loss in the poem which by indirections found directions out. The linguistic behaviour of the poem will show the development of psychologically dominant sense that everybody at sometime or other is likely to surrender to, the sense that the whole world seems to have gone wrong.

What arouses concern firstly in the poem is the sustained use of adjectives with a semantic value of immobility and inertness, the use

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of verbs symbolising 'will' or 'decisiveness' alternated by futility. These variations are made more striking by the chafing clipped, impatient terms opening "Ulysses" :

> It little profits that an idle king,
> By this still hearth, among these barren crags,
> Match'd with an aged wife, I mete and dole
> Unequal laws unto a savage race,
> That hoard, and sleep, and feed, and know not.[2]

Thus the urgency and meaning with which Ulysses communicates indicate his ironic chart of action. The contempt in the opening line is pervasive and energizing with the "barren crags" leading from "idle king" and leading into the "aged wife" — the marriage match does harsh justice. These adjectives introduce a spatial territory of stagnation and hence the reader almost shuts any anticipation of a planned action. While these adjectives may be metalinguistically characterized by a style of transferring epithet, verbs like "hoard", "sleep", "feed", "to rest" establish a tone of contempt. Yet this movement is at once followed by a different kind of affirmation :

> I cannot rest from travel : I will drink
> Life to the lees : all times I have enjoyed
> Greatly, have suffered greatly, both with those
> That loved me, and alone, on shore and when
> Thro' scudding drifts the rainy Hyades
> Vext the dim sea : . . .

The lines have amplitude, the affirmation, but a plumped one. Yet this is not necessarily a failure in the poem, since what is truly aimed at, may have been equivocal.

The repetition of adjectives in the following lines has been cast in the same mould as verbs in the opening lines : "Slow prudence", "rugged people", "soft degrees", "common duties", "unbecoming men", "dark broad seas", "frolic welcome", "long day", "slow moon", and the verbs "hoard", "leave", "subdue", "gone", "toiled", "wrought", "closes", "waves", "climbs", "strove", "die" and so on reiterate the poem's general norm and project the theme of physical confinement and mental despair. In order to arrive at this level of primary pattern, there is no need for the reader to impute similar or equivalent pattern.

Similarly, the use of participles like "roaming", "ringing", "sinking", "sounding" is one form of deviation to bring forth a quality of incessation. Besides, the use of infinitive recurs in a way as to convey to the reader on one hand, the strong aspiration of a man past

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an active and adventurous life, and on the other hand, the speaker's frame of reference that can contain only knowledge that his yearnings are not for consummation. The following is an observation of the recurring "to" infinitive constructions :

To rest unburnished, not to shine in use ! . . .
To follow knowledge, like a sinking star,
. . . to make mild . . .
. . . descent not to fail . . .
. . . to twinkle from the rocks
. . . to seek a newer world
. . . to sail beyond the sunset.
to strike, to seek, to find, and not to yeild.

Their juxtaposition to the condition of stillness, drabness, monotony and futility, illustrated in the poet's use of certain adjectives and verbs points to a certain thematic unity : The protagonist's, or any weather-beaten man's belief that his life is not just a past, that it still has a future. The poem's language, its reluctance while projecting the contradiction of morbid forces pervading the life of an adventurous spirit points clearly to a human incapacity that can arise only "yearning" and not a confident assurance. In the context, the stylistic tissue of the poem through the use of the future time reference is remarkable because despite its unobtrusiveness, it is potent and omnipresent in implication.

There are however cadences in the poem which are far from enervated, but one might as well question whether they are not sapped and sopped by the insidious enervation :

The long day wanes : the slow moon climbs : the deep
Moans round with many voices Come my friends,

However, the poet's explicit optimism is shown by his deliberate choice and interchange of futurities. At first in : "I will drink life to the less," the speaker Ulysses uses will, not shall that is a determination, not a simple futurity; whereas the mitigating contradiction follow in the use of futurities all governed by and weakened by the modal may :

It may be that the gulfs will wash us down :
It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
And see the great Achilles, whom we knew.

Stylistically, it is through transferring a lingustic structure of definiteness to one of probability that the poem enables the reader to draw closer to the equivocal state of a solitary man. Yet again, the poet's attempt to minimize futurity by substituting the simple present

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tense is revealing. Lines Like : "Though much is taken, much abides", or "I am a part of all that I have met" are ways to shut out the future. Further, a variety of linguistic forms that rejects the futurity can be located in expressions like :

> . . . Gleams that untravelled world whose margin fades
> For ever and ever when I move.

Moreover, the poet does not say "Every hour will bring new things," but he says : "Every hour . . . A bringer of new things." Also he says "something . . . may yet be done" and not will be done. It should be emphasized that there is a relation between the poet's standard use of expression and the linguistic pattern. The syntactic — topical relations in "Ulysses" have been used deliberated by Tennyson as correlatives to the physical and mental conditions of an old man who has not lost merely his youth but continues to suffer from a persisting urge to dissociate himself actively from the death-in-life predicament that has overcome him. The quest part of Ulysses journey can only be depicted by an intelligent use of verbs or verbal phrases. In fact, William Carlos Williams bases his theory of the poem on 'Action'; mainly in the use of verbs which, for him, activate identity—objects which are nouns. The character of Ulysses is an identity, though yet an identity which is trying to seek fulfilment; in other words which is still in the *process*. All *processes* imply movement, and Tennyson's intelligent use of verbs at the base, with nouns, adverbs and adjectives occupying a subsidiary position make "Ulysses" a great success is terms of deft and delicate use of linguistic patterns.

NOTES

1. Humbert Wolfe, "Introduction to Tennyson in *Fifteen Poets* (London : OUP, 1965), p. 391.

2. "Ulysses", *Fifteen Poets*, p. 408-10.

All references hereafter are to this edition.

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LAWSON'S *ROGER BLOOMER* AND *PROCESSIONAL* : A BLEND OF POLITICAL RADICALISM AND THEATRICAL EXPERIMENTATION

Kshamanidhi Mishra

John Howard Lawson, an important playwright and drama critic of the 1930s, was popularly known as the dean of the revolutionary theatre. An artist of the older generation, he had started his dramatic career not in the depressed thirties but in the prosperous twenties when commitment was not a social necessity. But in spite of that the Marxist influence on Lawson could be traced back to the twenties when he was obsessed with various theatrical techniques. A true member of the lost generation, he could not afford to be lost in the comparatively placid realism and the psychological upheavals of the Coolidge-Hoover era. He became, in fact, an exponent in the twenties of a new experimental social theatre that felt the plight of the common workers and held that the conflict between capital and labour was the vital subject for drama. Starting with *Rogar Bloomer,* an expressionistic play and *Processional,* a "jazz symphony of American life," in the twenties and concluding with *Marching Song,* one of the most militant leftist plays of the thirties, he occupies a prominent position in the history of American drama.

As a social dramatist, Lawson was particularly susceptible to the forces and events of the time in which he lived and worked. His plays unquestionably betray the conflicting demands of the artist and the ideologist in him. While the artist in Lawson impels him to write in an experimental vein, the ideologist in him exphasises the necessity of social commitment and demands that he should write in the Marxian line. Starting from his earliest plays onward, one can perceive this ambivalence. Even his purely expressionistic play, *Rogar Bloomer,* does not stand as an exception to this and reveals the social commitment of the plywright. Interestingly enough, his freudian portraits are also enriched by Marxian sentiments.

Rogar Bloomer, Lawson's first play to reach a Broadway audience, is fairly typical of the playwright's eagerness to combine new theatrical experimentation with his political radicalism. Produced by the Equity players on March 1, 1923, less than three weeks before the production of Elmer Rice's *The Adding Machine,* the most durable example of American expressionism, *Roger Bloomer* uses most effectively all the essential characteristics of expressionism to dramatise the adolescent yearnings of the protagonist for maturity : type characters, abstract

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characters such as the Grotesque figures in Roger's dream, telescopic characterisation by which the Judge and the College Examiner are suggested to be identical, symbolism, telegraphic and lyrical dialogue, the soliloquy and the aside, abstract settings, kaleidoscopic dramaturgy presenting cinematic scenes and above all, the monodramatic. The techniques of expressionism are experimented in some forty scenes crowding into three acts, on a divided stage, with action taking place first at one spot and then at another, only by shifting light from one area to the other.

The plot of the play is conventional enough — a boy runs away from home to the big city. Roger Bloomer, an "average Amercian boy"[1] possessed with adolescent restlessness and a passionate longing and curiosity about life, leaves his home town, Excelsior, Iowa, amid cries of "I can't stay here, I need to move . . . I want what I don't know" (p. 238), "I want the impossible, I want to change things, I want women's souls" (p. 233), for New York with a view to "chasing destinies" and if necessary, "to die like the sun in red splendor !" (p. 243). But New York offers him poverty, starvation, filthy sex, and maladjustment. Being frustrated he takes rat poison that hardly kills him. On the contrary, Louise, with whom he has developed a hectic but platonic love affair, takes poison and dies because of her sense of guilt in stealing bonds from her employer. The play ultimately ends with Roger in prison, having a nightmare in which he is surrounded by figures who are threateningly engaged in a "mocking orgy of Sex and Obscenity" behind which lurks the Freudian death wish, until Louise, the "life force, rises radiant to protect him, dispersing the bloody ghosts that surround him, leaving him alone, ready for manhood" (pp. 285-86).

Lawson calls Roger "the most normal person in the play" (p. 212). But as Louis Broussard observes, "he seems more like an Orestes in reverse, pursuing the Furies himself. And what are the Furies in this play ? According to the fantasy-finale, the forces with which the individual is at odds are 'obedience' and 'competitive ambition.'[2] A product of capitalist society that requires conformity to social traditions and competitive standards of capitalism. Roger becomes instead a rebel against it. His family, a microcosm of that society, reveals the clash of values within itself. An idealistic youth himself, Roger is in conflict with the bourgeois values of his father, a smug, anti-intellectual businessman whose motto has been to "spread", by exploiting his own exployees : "Over-pay the poor and you cheat the rich . . . why should I be bullied into paying inefficient people more than they deserve ?" (p. 215) As he confides to Louise, the salesgirl who has just resigned form his father's store : "We both hate my

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father !" It is the exploiting nature of his father that arouses revulsion in Roger : "When you went out of my father's office just now, something in me answered your feeling . . . a burning sensation more than tears ! For the first time in my life I heard a despairing cry" (p. 240). Though he professes that "I don't know what life is : I want to find out, face it . . . the whole hog" (p. 239), it is not only his longing for sexual quest but also his strong disapproval of his father's materialistic ambition that prompts him to escape from home. Bloomer's closing of the window at the end of Act I because "there's going to be a storm" (p. 244), symbolises Roger's sense of confinement as well as his revolt against it. Ultimately Bloomer fails to impose his bourgeois values upon his son who finally breaks the family ties and escapes.

However, Lawson has not restricted the clash of values to the family only; he has broadened it to the social level. Roger defies the authoritarian bullying of the College Examiner and Louise defies her employer, Bloomer. There is a class struggle in miniature—Louise rebels against the exploitation of her employer and quits her job in protest because at the end of a year she would have but "a dollar a week raise and consumption" (p. 239). But though their rebellion against society is partially fruitful, both Roger and Louise are not capable if escaping from the capitalist system. They escape but only to come to New York city which is again the heart of the capitalist society and this is what happens there :

> In the gray pit of the streets pass the gray millions—and all these that pass are hungry . . . starving men and women . . . What doom will come on this place, what doom, oh, hungry city ? . . . Death will come in a whirlwind breaking your sky towers—and the hungry will shout for joy ! (pp. 257-58).

Here is reflected Lawson's severe condemnation of the values of a society where both Roger amd Louise have no place. Salvation comes only in Louise's death and Roger's imprisonment. Since the success of revolution is not realised in their real life, Lawson depicts the possibility of the emergence of a new order in the dream of the protagonist, where the dream-image of Louise chants : "Away ! Away, ghosts of yesterday, for the young are coming marching, marching . . . and far off . . . the tread of marching people singing a new song" (pp. 294-95). The tendentiousness of the playwright is obvious—he anticipated the inevitability of an impending revolution. That revolution is being dramatised in his next play *Processional* as well as his last play, *Marching Song* where the above chanting of Louise would become a reality.

Like *Roger Bloomer*, Lawson's next play, *Processional*, is again a

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promising experiment in combining his growing radicalism with new theatrical techniques—this time, expressionism merged with the popular arts of jazz and vaudeville. Using the stock devices and stereotypes of vaudeville and the vigour and originality of jazz, Lawson provides in this play a tempo and rhythm to his critique of American ills. Subtitled "a jazz symphony of American life," the play presents a panorama of American life that is not altogether pleasant—behind the jazz-vaudeville tone lurks the grim reality of capitalist existence. Lawson wants to show that American life at the time was not a bed of roses; rather it was full of thorns that make people bleed.

Strike being the modern symbol of Marxian revolution, Lawson dramatises in *Processional* the strike of the coal miners to depict a bitter and bloody strife between the contending classes, the capitalist and the proletariat. Class lines are being rigidly drawn : the capitalist class represented by the reactionary forces like the police-supported owners and the leaders of the Ku Klux Klan and the class of the proletariat represented by the revolutionary forces like the group of exploited miners. Set in the "Outskirts of a large town in the West Virginia coal fields during a strike,"[3] the play exposes a sensational opening with a newboy shouting, "Extry ! Extry ! Trouble in West Virginia ! . . . . Jazzin'up the big strike ! . . . Extry Soldiers an' miners lash.'8 (pp. 187-88). The sensation is further intensified by Sadie's disclosure that " The Governor a' West Virginia has made a big paper sayin' it's martial law an' everybuddy can be kilt . . . an' the soldiers has taken the mines an' the strikers has got music an' they're marchin' and they're marchin' . . . ." (pp. 188-89). Then enter into the scene the miners "playing the jazz march which forms a background throughout the play, "Yankee Doodle Blues", (p. 189). The "rugged types, hardened mine workers of the mountain region" (p. 189), they are a group of polyglot Americans (Psinski, A Pole; Rastus, a Negro; Daggo Joe, an Italian, and others, probably natives) who justify Marx's contention that workers are international. Their agitation against their class-enemy is shown through their noisy eruption into the theatre and marching around the stage playing the jazz. That they are class-conscious workmen has been emphasised by the communist worker, Psinski, who frequently chants Marxian slogans.

The characters in the play are not meant to be individuals; they are broad social types representing different aspects of American life. In addition to the popular vaudeville stereotypes (Cohen, the Jewish low comedian; Rastus, the Negro comic figure; Phillipots, the brash reporter; the Sheriff, the hard-boiled custodian of law), the important characters in the play also tend to be social types. Jim Flimmins is a

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typical representative of the proletariat whose economic condition has gradually deteriorated because of the advance of capitalist industrialisation. His wretched family life described in Act III, Scene 1, is typical of the proletarian life in a capitalist society :

> A dilapidated barn which has been made roughly into a place in which to live. A wide opening rear without a door through which sunlight streams in. Sunlight also filters through cracks in the dilapidated walls. Straw is stuffed in the cracks. One broken table centre and two broken chairs . . . One or two boxes scattered about . . . . also a rusty stove . . . . Left front, an iron bed, and right front a torn mattress lies on the floor . . . Old Maggie occupies the bed and Mrs. Flimmins sleeps on the mattress on floor (pp. 233-34).

"This scene in the old barn," comments Anita Block, "where all the divergent, antagonistic social elements in the play come together, presents, for all its luridly colored treatment and its jazz trimmings, an authentic microcosm of their America with which Lawson intended to shock smug theatre-goers into awareness."[4] The audience must have been further shocked, like Jim himself, by the fact that his mother has prostituted herself in the hope of raising enough money to take him away to safety.

Strictly in the Marxian line, it is the social being that determines Jim's consciousness. His actions in the play are conditioned by economic determinism. It is precisely the miserable economic condition of Jim that makes him a revolutionary. His awareness, that the bosses are quite indifferent to the condition of the workers and it is their deliberate indifference that is responsible for the present situation, makes Jim rebellious, proud, and contemptuous of the capitalist class. "A tall man with rough-hewn face and muscles like granite" (p. 211), he is called Dynamite Jim because he is, as described by the Sheriff, "a rip-raorin' son of a gun, a gun totin' son of a bitch" (p. 217). Having been jailed during the strike, he cunningly escapes, kills a soldier to evade capture and takes refuge in his mother's home. He justifies his title through his spectacular action in defying authority for which he is chosen by the striking miners as a leader. But maddened by the knowledge of his mother's prostitution, he seeks revenge and it is poor Sadie Cohen who pays the price for his disillusionment. While fighting with soldiers with reckless indifference, he sees Sadie, carries her down into the mine and rapes her. He tries to escape but is cought by the soldiers. Six months after his capture, Jim suddenly turns up being discharged for lack of evidence, but blinded by the Ku Klux Klan. Sadie being six months pregnant by him, he marries her in a final jazz wedding.

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Psinski is a typical Communist who deliberately shows his knowledge of Marx by frequently telling about working-class solidarity. "Evidently a man of education," he makes his Marxist debut stating, "We make the jazz today for the glory of the working class . . . We do not go to jail, we got rights, we are class-conscious workmen" (pp-190-191). He believes "in the brotherhood of man" (p. 205); when he is beaten by the soldiers on the charges of taking a shot at the Man in a Silk Hat, he asks them a pertinent question, "You soldiers are workmen, too, what for you come here to shoot down your brothers ?" (p. 206). But the soldiers who do not have a sense of class are nothing but tools in the hands of the capitalist to safeguard their (Capitalists') interests. As a true Communist, Psinski does not believe in God ("God don't frighten me !"), but shows his faith in the success of the proletarian revolution : Don't you see a new light comin', a new sun risin' ? . . . The Proletariat" (p. 208). He becomes instrumental in Jim's escape from the prison, but as an organiser he is taken into custody by the police. In the last act, he exposes Rastus in Klan's mask and dissociates him : "You ain't fit to associate with class-conscious workmen" (p. 277). He refers to the would-be child of Sadie as the hope for the future ?". . . . his name shall be called Wonderful ! . . . Mebbe that child will stand on the last barricade wavin' a red flag in the face a' all time !" (p. 284).

Ideologically opposed to Jim and Psinski are Man in a Silk Hat, the owner of the mines and King Kleagle, the leader of the Ku Klux Klan. Man in a Silk Hat is a typical capitalist who, along with the leaders of the Klan and the police, constitutes the conspiratorial force bent upon breaking the workers' strike. Though at the end he comes forward with good tidings ("We want to open up the mines, make concessions, boom business, sign contracts . . . everybody fully pardoned," (p. 285), he secretly plots to kill the leaders of the strike when they return to work. This exposes the real hypocrisy of the capitalist class. King Kleagle, "another incarnation of the Man in the Silk Hat" (p. 270), reveals the nasty mentality of the Klan, the American counterpart of Fascism in Europe : "Clean up the dirty foreigners, make 'em kiss the flag ! Skin the Jews, lynch the niggers, made 'em kiss the flag !" (p. 271). Lawson, who is very much critical of the Klan, makes a satirical portrayal of it by ironically including a Jew (Cohen) and a Negro (Rastus) under mask in the Klan and exposing its hypocrisy : "I wish to announce, entire Congress of the United States joined the Ku Klux Klan last night" (p. 271).

It is interesting to see the way the heroine is brought into the conflict. Sadie Cohen is a typical flapper who is so created to represent capitalism's hostility towards artistic ideals. The daughter of an

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underprivileged immigrant, she possesses the youthful exuberance and the creative impulse to dance with the rhythm of jazz, but lacks the opportunity to fulfil her ambition. She rebels against the hostile world represented by her father and escape with phillpots, and somehow gets mixed up in the conflict. In the scene of the dilapidated barn, she dances disgracefully with Boob, the newsboy who has just been accused of theft by her father, and defies her father when asked to go home : "Never goin' home, never ! I'm goin' away, gonna find a lotta men to gimme kisses an' diamonds !" (p. 247). Here is a revolt of the younger generation against the old. At last made pregnant by Jim, she comes to awareness and, not being ashamed of the loss of her honour, she repeats the chant : "I'm gonna raise my kid . . ." (pp. 276, 281, 282, 284, 289). Here Lawson brings a conversion-ending for the heroine who moves from her state of ignorance and childishness to the state of knowledge and maturity showing her fervent faith in her desire to bring her illegitimate child into the world.

Processional includes most of the elements of a leftist play, but treats them with the comic and the satiric spirit that breaks out into song and dance. Because Lawson handles the elements of class strife humorously, Gerald Rabkin feels that "*Processional* is hardly a play of bitter social protest . . . while Lawson senses the underlying class struggle manifest in American life, his voice at that time was hardly consciously revolutionary. The strike is not won by the organised demands of militant workers, but rather through the generosity of capital . . ."[5] But is is difficult to subscribe to this view. When Lawson has consciouly created capitalist, proletarian, and Marxist prototypes to dramatise the class struggle and has deliberately shown the victory of the proletariat in making the capitalist surrender to the demands of the workers, Rabkin is not justified in discarding the play as not being revolutionary. The generosity of the capitalists is not shown automatically (had it been the case, there would not have been any strike at all); rather the consistant organised demands of the militant strikers compel them to come to terms with the proletariat. Just because the class struggle is shown through humorous touches here and there, it is not that the play fails as social protest; rather it is the humorous touch that, in a way, intensifies the bitterness of social protest. Rastus's response, "How come ? Anybody owns a sheet can belong (to the Klan). I reckoned it was safer—" (p. 277), though comic, reveals the intense concern of the blacks for their safety from the clutches of the Klan. Lawson, however, succeeds in the technical experimentation in creating a grim reality of life beneath the humorous tone deliberately chosen by him. Besides, through the character of Old Maggie, he presents his hope for the future : "An' flowers spring where

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the flesh rots" (p. 209). Thus *Processional* is a pioneering effort in the leftist American theatre and is aptly called a "Rhapsody in Red."[6]

As is evident from the plays discussed above, Lawson, the Jazz-Age experimentalist with a Marxist conscience, has betrayed the conflicting demands of the artist and the ideologist in him. Both the plays of the twenties reveal simultaneously his preoccupation with theatrical techniques as well as Marxist ideology. It rather adds to his credit that at a time when Marxism was unwarranted, Lawson could succeed in creating a new experimental theatre based on the issue of class struggle. Odets's writing of *Waiting for Lefty* or Lawson's writing of *Marching Song* in the thirties, though striking, is something natural to the demand of the age; but the writing of *Roger Bloomer* and *Processional* in the twenties dealing with class struggle, which hitherto had not been thought of as material suitable for the theatre, was something unique and unprecedented.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. John Howard Lawson, *Roger Bloomer* in *Drama and Theatre, Illustrated by Seven Modern Plays,* ed. A.R. Fulton (New York : Henry Hold & Co., 1946), p. 212.

   All subsequent references to the play are to this edition and have been incorporated in the text itself.

2. Louis Broussard, *American Drama : Coatemporary Allegory from Eugene O'Neill to Tennessee Williams* (1962; rpt. Norman : University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), p. 54.

3. Lawson, *Processional : A Jazz Symphony of American Life,* in *Contemporary Drama : American Plays* ed. E. Bradlee Watson and Benfield Pressey (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931), p. 186

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4. Anita Block, *The Changing World in Plays and Theatre* (1939; rpt. New York : Da Capo Press, 1971). p. 227.

5. Gerald Rabkin, *Drama and Commitment : Politics in the American Theatre of the Thirties* (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1964), p. 136.

6. Gilbert W. Gabriel, "Rhapsody in Red : John Howard Lawson's *Professional,*" *The American Theatre as Seen by its Critics : 1752-1934,* ed. Montrose J. Moses and John Mason Brown (New York : W.W. Norton & Co., Inc. 1934), p. 313.

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SAM SHEPARD'S *OPERATION SIDEWINDER* : MYTH, PARABLE AND TEXT

Dharanidher Sahu

The purpose of this paper is to show how a parabolical structure inscribed in *Operation Sidewinder* determines the meaning-potential of this play. It is also our contention that the parable used in that text is in fact a conglomerate of various myths which have been mediated by some dialogic, didactic and dramatic necessity.

Myths generally originate from the human tendency to schematize, order and explain the choatic, contingent, uncanny and inexplicable phenomena that affect man in some way in order to mediate the gap between Nature and Culture. In this sense, myths are a system of signs which enables the language to approximate the undifferentiated continuity of nature and the paradoxes of human experience. Basically interpretative, myths usually are not bound by ideological constraints and didactic messages. But when myths are poeticized, loaded and compelled by the aouthrs of imaginative literature to carry messages they become parables and are made to point to a moral and illustrate a doctrine. it is not attempted here to attach any ethical tag to such practices, but to consider them. Myths supply a sort of base upon which parables are built to accommodate ideological implications. In the imaginative writings, parables thus constituted help to allegorize the facts of existence, events, experiences. Myths of Oedipus, Philoctetes, Ulysses and Sisphus current in the pre-Aeschylean Greece were unassuming and popular and descriptive. When these myths were made to pass through the prisms of authorial consciousness they produced a multiplicity of colours/meanings.

Before we take up *Operation Sidewinder* to show how Sam Shepard tries to use myths as the constitutive parts of a priviledged parable in order to allegorize certain contemporary situations, it is necessary to justify our use of the term 'textual' interpretation. Understanding the difference between 'work' and 'text' will clarify our theoretical position.

Roland Barthes in the essay 'Theory of the Text' (1981) points out this distinction and its importance in determining the stand a critic takes while treating any literary object. A literary analysis is different from a textual analysis in that while the former subordinates the signifiers sprinkled throughout the work to a final signified, an acceptable meaning, the latter interprets the movement of words inside the text as a 'weave of signifiers' which exceeds a final signified.

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'Textual analysis,' writes Barthes, 'is pluralistic' (Theory of the Text 43). Work is a completed product which suggests a preexistent meaning and the literary analysis of a work aims at locating its meaning outside of that work and discovering how each signifier present in it bends towards that point of convergence, the meaning outside of that play of signifiers. On the other hand, any interpretation of text restores it (text) to language, treats it as a 'passage or overcrossing', a field of signifiers which generates a 'serial movement of disconnections, overlappings, variations' *(Image-Music-Text 158).*

While considering Operation Sidewinder (1970) as a 'text' (as distinct from a 'work') it is necessary to remember Barthes's warning that such classification should not be based on chronology. An ancient book can be or may contain 'text' and an avant-garde book can be without it. Barthes stresses the 'dilatory' and 'symbolic' aspect of the text whose 'fleld is that of the signifier.' In *Operation Sidewinder* certain 'Kernel' signifiers like the snake, the UFO's, the Star Gods and the Spider Lady, constituted, as they are, of infinite number of binary pairs bring out its symbolic quality. The much debated plurality of the text should not be understood in the sense that it has several meanings. The text by coataining, privileging and setting in opposition certain signifiers 'achieves plurality of meaning' *('From Work to Text'* 76).

A close reading of *Operation Sidewinder* would reveal that this play contains a lot of textual energy. By making free and often flamboyant use of symbols it effects a sort of chain reaction of signifiers. Both characterization and plot are made subservient to an overpowering intention, to an ideology which is essentially monistic. Matter and spirit, body and mind, human and divine ultimately come together. This play like many other plays of Shepard such as *The Tooth of Crime, Icarus's Mother, The Buried Child* etc. permits its signifiers to operate as autonomous sources of meaning. Bonnie Marranca considers the plays of Shepard 'open texts' and contrasts them to the 'closed, conventional' plays. She writes : 'The object of closed, conventional dramaturgy is to make known every factor. It operates on the principle of substraction : environment minus character minus gesture equals meaning. The open text as dramatic field multiplies each of its autonomous elements to generate unforeseeable sets of possibilities as its algebra of emotion' *(American Drama* 31). According to Marranca *Operation Sidewinder* can be a text which does not have a closure and which contains autonomous elements. These autonomous elements are 'Kernel' signifiers which generate meaning or possibilities of meaning in keeping with the openness of the text.

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Operation Sidewinder is the story of a sophisticated computer manufactured to trace and process data about the extra-terrestrial visitors who visit the earth on their flying saucers popularly known as unidentified flying objects (UFO's). This computer is made in the shape of a huge rattle snake/sidewinder, perhaps, for the purpose of camouflage. As the play opens, this fully automated machine has sneaked out of the laboratory and gone to the desert which is supposed to be the natural habitat of rattle snakes. On another level, the whites, the blacks and the Red Indians are engaged in intrigues and gang wars based on some racial issues.

The computer which has escaped into the desert is sighted by a couple who mistake it to be an actual snake and try to photograph it from a close range. It springs at the woman Honey, 'a sexy chick with long blong hair', holds her in a vice-like embrace and works her up to a sexual orgasm. Mickey Free, a 'half-breed' and a hired assassin, rescues the woman by cutting the 'head' of the sidewinder. He keeps the severed 'head' in his bag as a trophy. Dr Vector and other scientists are now searching for the missing head of the computer. The Spider Lady, a nonagerarian Tiresiaslike prophetess of the Red Indian tribes, tells Mickey Free that the head he carries in his bag is the head of the 'spirit snake', that the body of the snake must be joined to the head at a ritual, that the snake he killed is a gift of the Star Gods to the chosen people on earth and the fate of mankind depends on the re-union of the snake's head with its body. Finally, an eleborate ritual takes place and all the worshippers are whisked upto heaven by the Star Gods who manifest themselves through the lightning, thunder and luminous flying saucers as soon as the two parts of the sidewider computer are united.

A man-made machine endowed with artificial intelligence baffles its creator (Dr Vector) by acquiring certain human traits : free-will, sensitiveness and the capacity to be capricious. In a sense, such situations as the created thing defying the control of its creator and behaving like a parallel source of power have been encountered in science fiction. Mary Shelley's gothic horror story, *Frankenstein*, Kapek's *R.U.R.* and the story of creation and fall is *The Genesis* of the Old Testament. In all these situations the traditional balance of power between the creator and the created in terms of spontaneous action and programmed action is temporarily or permanently subverted and disrupted. Such disruption and subversion usually serve as dialectical adjuncts, anti-theses to intensify desire for restructuring and restoration of that balance. Here, this leap of the artefact from artificial intelligence to spontaneous intelligence may be a re-enactment of the

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first fall of man, his first attempt to level up to his creator, God by breaking loose from the straitjacket of the remote control.

By analysing Marin's interpretation of pascalian discourses 'On the condition of the Great' in the beginning of this essay we have found how a single parable functioning as the base and the Kernel of a wide-ranging discussion on the concept of power lends many dimensions to these discourses and brings out the precarious points inherent in the common notions about 'legitimacy' and 'ownership'. Now, it would be possible to identify certain myths distributed throughout *Operation Sidewinder* which contribute singly and collectively to the making of the parable of the Snake in its journey from its reptile-hood to the spirit-hood through various incarnations and stages of progress. The actual rattle-snake after whose image the computer is made incarnates as the mechanical snake. Instead of shedding any of its snaky qualities, it adds another quality collected obviously from its mythical connection with the snake in Eden, Stan, the arch-tempter, the phallic symbol. Myth of man's (Adam and Eve's) first temptation and fall is integrated to the parable of the Journey of the Snake when the computer resembling the rattle-snake is sexually aroused by the proximity and provocative charms of a woman. The contact of the sexually aroused snake with a woman (whose vulnerability is stressed in the text) conjures up a vividly biblical simulacrum : Eve's hesitant surrender to the seductions of the Snake as Satan. This is only one example how a myth is poeticized. and ciricumstantially transformed into an aspect of an extended parable.

The journey of the Snake from its reptilian condition to its spiritual condition follows a dialectial route. The subterranean creature incarnated as a technologically perfected contraption suffers disintegration when its head is separated from its body and ceases to function as an intermediary between the creatures of the earth and the extra-terrestrials, that is to say, between man and the gods. Again, the reunion of its severed parts becomes a sort of spiritual necessity to effect another reunion of the mortals and the Star Gods. Sam Shepard makes use of the popular and quasi-scientific attitude of the contemporary American and Western society which replaces the traditional gods by the extra-terrestrial visitors. Gods and goddesses of Homer and Virgil become a technologically perfect race inhabiting some distant planets. Their superiority and power over the earthlings are not due to their divinity but to their more advanced technology which enables them to make themselves invisible at will. As a result of this change in attitude, the spiritual quest has effectively been replaced by scientific curiousity and the human seeker by a powerful computer.

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On the other hand, the Red Indian tribal belief while retaining the spiritual aspect of gods equates them with the extra-terrestrial visitors. Their ritualistic worship both accommodates and spiritualizes the mechanical computer. By placing two cultures, the scientific, modern American culture and the ritualistic, Red Indian tribal culture side by side, the author perhaps does not intend to effect a polarization of forces as it is commonly assumed but to stress their common archetypal root, their funndamental similarities. Spiritual solvation becomes just another name for technological salvation; mass innihilation becomes mass redemption.

The play *Operation Sidewinder* privileges the parable of the Snake in terms of its pilgrimage from the reptilean to the spiritual state by conflating it to the contemporary crisis of faith. As we have mentioned in the previous paragraph, both the contemporary and tribal beliefs seem to have been inextricably linked to the extra-terrestrial visitors on their unidentified flying objects. Frequent sightings of UFO's in America and England particularly in the sixties generated hot debates even among the western scientists and intellectuals about the existence of extra-terrestrials and their supernatural powers. Believes hastily associated such circumstantial, yet inexplicable phenomena with their concept of divinity in a desperate bid to recuperate faith, and the rationalists tried to explode such all too easy associations by simply inverting the position. Eric Von Dariken has defined the position taken by the sceptics and rationalists in *According to the Evidence*, facilely subtitled 'My Proof of Man's Extra-terrestrial Origins'. He states his theory thus :

> In prehistoric and early historic times the Earth was visited by unknown beings from the Cosmos. These unknown beings created human intelligence by a deliberate genetic mutation.
>
> The extra-terrestrials ennobled the hominids 'in their own image'. That is why we resemble them—not they us.
>
> These visits to Earth by alien beings from the cosmos were recorded and handed down in religion, mythologies and popular legends. In some places the extra-terrestrials also deposited physical signs of their presence on Earth. *(According to Evidence* V)

By the single stroke of his 'theory', Daniken attempts to break three formidable citadels : the Greco-Roman concept and the Oriental concept of gods, the Christian belief based on man's creation (in the image of God), original sin (Adam and Eve's temptation and fall) and

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redemption through atonement which validates Jesus Christ's suffering, crucifiction and resurrection, and the much researched theories of Charles Darwin on the evolution of species and the descent of man. Through some of his books which had circulated in America (like the *Chariot of the Gods* and *Return to the Stars)* before 1970 when Shepard wrote his play, Daniken and his tribe have not actually broken those citadells, but succeeded in scratching their surface. And these scratch-marks are significant because they prove a presence, a threat. Sam Shepard tries to foreground this threat by bringing out its social, religious and theological implications, its tacit, yet diabolical potential to disrupt and restructure age-old hierarchies, norms and parameters for value-judgment.

The parable of the snake, a close reading would suggest, contains and vivifies the aspects of those 'three formidable citadells'. The computer's resembling a snake is not fortuitous. The fact of its resemblance to a snake regulates its activity, movement etc. in the formal level and determines its status as a composite signifier in the symbolic level. The snake in the paradise, the snake as surrogate of Satan, the snake as the gift of the Star Gods, hence the agent and object of disintegration and reintegration, subverts man-god relationship found in the Greco-Roman and Oriental concepts. The computer disguised as a rattle-snake keeps watch over 'the gods' to find their secrets. Gods of Homer and Virgil, though humanized through their passions, preferences and miscalculations, retained superiority and supervisory power and were differentiated from one another in certain ways. But the Star Gods operate as a race, an undifferentiated lot, and their attitude to their chosen people lacks any convincing moral reason. Moreover, they can be spied upon, they can be taken in by the camouflage of the computer.

The snake-parable as we have stressed earlier both contains and undermines the fundamental precepts of Christianity. Man by creating a highly humanized computer appropriates to himself the role of God as the Creator of man, and Satan (a god) disguised as a snake mediates between man and his first excercise of free-will. This humanized, man-made computer resembling a rattle-snake commits the sin of concupiscence by attacking a woman sexually, In fact, the Eve-Serpent relationship in *The Genesis* has a strong undertone of sexuality. This act of sin necessitates its fall, its disintegration, its estrangement from its creator. Death here is symptomatic of the body-soul separation. Finally, reunion of the head (spirit, soul etc).with he body synchronizes with the redemption of the worshippers, the chosen people'. Synchronization of these two apparently disparate events (that is, the

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integration of the computer's/snake's body with its head and the consquent restoration of its wholeness and the union of the chosen people and their Star Gods, the worshippers and their idols, the terrestrials and the extra-terrestrials and their consequent redemption) invests the snake-parable a distinct status within the text as a composite signifier. The reanimated snake/computer is the resurrected Christ. Here it can be pointed out that the snake-parable 'simultaneously stabilizers and subverts, produces and undermines meaning' by becoming Christ, the cause and object of general redemption and at the same time becoming not-Christ, anti-Christ, Satan dissimulating as Snake in paradise, the archseducer, the agent of destablization and subversion in more senses than one. The dual status of the parable is further intensified by the Spider Lady's revelation that the snake is a gift of the Star Gods. Ethically undifferentiated aspect of the (Star) gods contains their double aspect. An ideological ambiguity is inscribed in the text through this foregrounding of the snake-parable as a strategy which 'conceals truth or misconstrues it.'

This double aspect of the gods and this ideological ambiguity strategically inscribed in the parable should not be understood as the guillibility and vulnerability and even amorality of the Homeric, Virgilian and Oriental gods. It would also be beside the point to equate them with the ambiguity associated with Jehovah of the Old Testament as God of Abraham, God of Moses, God of Isaac and God of Job. The comparison will not stand simply because whereas a strong faith informed the old concepts and attitudes, a dominant intellectualism informs the modern attitudes. Faith and spirit are the first casualties of any modern discourse on religion. Joseph Wood Krutch observes with a heavy heart :

> Time was when the scientist, the poet and the philosopher walked hand in hand. In the universe which the one perceived the other found himself comfortably at home. But the world of modern science is one in which the intellect alone can rejoice. The mind leaps, and leaps perhaps with a sort of elation, through the immensities of space, but the spirit, frightened and cold, longs to have once more above its head the inverted bowl beyond which may be whatever paradise its desires may create. (*Modern Temper* 12).

Both Daniken and Shepard try in their ways to intellectualize the spiritual aspects of religion, one by a data-based, quasi-scientific investigations to explain mysteries, and the other by introducing religious symbols and myths only to reveal their unreal quality. The final act of *Operation Sidewinder*, vividly described as a tribal ritual to

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resurrect the Sidewinder computer by joining its severed parts so that all the worshippers would be rewarded with salvation by the Star Gods, is more in the nature of a conjuring trick, surrealistic and phantasyridden and devoid of spiritual atmosphere. It is a travesty of Christ's resurrection. Materialization of many UFO's is accompanied by storm, lightning and thunder, and the worshippers are whisked up physically to an amorphous heaven. By creating this scene, Shepard is only responding to the tempo of his times which privileges intellect over spirit. Mystery is made to certain explosive possibilities to undo itself.

The geocentric concept had been refuted by the scientific findings of Nikolaus Copernieus, Johannes Kepler and Galileo Galilei in the early sixteenth century. Our earth was no longer considered the centre of the universe. But the anthropocentric concept continued till it was exploded by Charles Darwin when he published his research findings in *The Origin of Species* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871). Man was dislodged from the centre and his divine origin was questioned. But the theory of man's extraterrestrial origin openly declared by Daniken and tacitly implied by Sam Shepard in his play refutes Darwinism as well. Spontaneous genetic mutation is replaced by deliberate genetic mutation and religion is equated with mythologies and popular legends. The Star Gods who are the sole dispensers of human destiny, who give civilization and even a messiah in the shape of a snake as a gift to mankind, are themselves devoid of any ethical attribute and are emissaries of a more advanced planet. They ennoble the hominids with an aim to colonize the earth, the blue planet. In a sense, they resemble medieval Christian missionaries who sailed to different parts of the earth to detribalize, colonize and proselytize the natives.

The idea of colonization conceals within itself the concepts of desire and power which operate in the text in various guises. These concepts, as a rule, cluster round another concept, i.e. the concept of dominion which is inextricably linked to the privileged snake-parable which itself is a reservoir of in-flowing myths. The snake-shaped computer becomes an agent and a catalyst of the ferment in its various stages of mutation. As a mechanized snake (the Sidewinder Computer) it is used as a spy to intrigue and outwit the extra-terrestrial visitors (the Star Gods) by its camouflage as an actual rattle-snake in order to collect and process data about them. As a spirit snake it is an enigma given to mankind as a 'gift' by those Star Gods who try to dominate the people of the Earth by their superior intelligence and technology. When beheaded, its body is possessed by the Whites and its head by

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the Red Indians (through Mickey Free, a half-breed), and each group tries to possess the missing half by dominating the other group. The available reality of the American racial, social and political scenario becomes an extended chessboard on which these forces and their opposites are ceaselessly engaged in checkmates and stalemates employing various strategies to build up a threat and to dodge a threat.

Just as the parable of Pascal about the castaway-turned-king inscribed within his discourses "On the Condition of the Great" brings out plural possibilities of meaning and several angles from which a real-life situation or a text can be viewed and interpreted, the snake-parable, a conglomerate of myths and a privileged, composite signifier traversing the text from its title to the final scene reveals the routes by which the text can be entered. This snake-parable contains and is sustained by certain forces (racial, social, political) and thier opposites. The Blacks and the Whites of the chessboard. By introducing the Whites/Non-whites as a binary pair of interested groups the author implies or mentions other frontiers where they are locked in mutual antagonism. Their common theme is to dominate or to refuse to be dominated. The Whites as exploiters and the Non-Whites as exploited extend their area of conflict from the ethnic, racial issues to economic/Marxist issues. A close reading of the text reveals other areas of antagonism : the Whites as civilized/modern/the Non-whites as primitive (Social-cultural), the whites as possessors of authority and establishment/the Non-Whites as rebels, conspirators (political), the Whites as scientists and rationalists believing in their technological miracle and considering the extra-terrestrials as inhabitants of another planet/the Non-Whites as ritualistic believing in the efficacy of rituals, prophecies and considering the extraterrestrials as the Star Gods who could give them salvation (religious). The text *Operation Sidewinder* also makes explicit another pair of opposites in terms of their possession and dispossession of the snake : the Snake Race (a chosen race possessing the snake which is given to them by the Star Gods as a gift) the Lizard Race, not possessing the snake but trying to possess it. It may be noted that all these given or implied pairs of opposites represent various fields of conflict (socio-cultural, political, religious etc.) and sustain the snake-parable which enables the text to achieve plurality of meaning. It also reveals the power-structure and the concept of domination inherent in the text.

Michel Serres makes an important point in his 'The Algebra of Literature : The Wolf's Game' regarding the Western concept of power. By using certain simple Algebraic prolegomena and the fable of 'The Wolf and the Lamb,' he shows that 'the reason of the strongest is

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always the best' and 'The reason of the strongest is reason *by itself*! (Serres 260, 276). Serres gets at this conclusion after a difficult and extensive journey through the western literature and epistemology.

In the game of power between the Whites and the Non-Whites (the Blacks and Red Indians), the Whites are stronger. The White race by possesing the snake resembles the Snake Race because the latter has received the snake as a gift from the Star Gods. Now the white Race resembling the Snake Race has grown stronger by Science and Technology and begins resembling the Wolf of the fable. Serres completes his essay with *Western man is a Wolf of Science* (276). Observed from this angle, the final ritual conducted by the Non-White Race which brings them 'salvation' also brings death, cataclysm and extermination. It is the White Race which continues to live. Death can be defeat in a sense because the Lamb dies. The Wolf eats the lamb the lives.

The text also permits a gendered interpretation through the snake-parable. The snake in its various manifestations represents 'phallus' as the patriarchal signifier of power. The Sidewinder Computer reveals its masculine trait by embracing a woman sexually. In that brief sexual act the computer/snake dominates the woman, overpowers her. When Mickey Free cuts the head of the snake, he castrates it, renders it neuter and keeps the cut 'head' withhim as a trophy. This event marks the replacement of an important signifier of power. Castration symbolizes the negation of both male and female qualities. In the final ritual the severed parts are rejoined, masculinity is restored. But the newly achieved masculinity belongs to the Non-Whites. The snake as a phallic signifier of power is a gift of the Star Gods. Its mutilation spells discord and its wholeness brings salvation. The text reverberates with dominating male-echoes. The phallus/The snake returns to those who originally owned it, the Star Gods. By its journey, from the Star Gods to the Star Gods passing through the Whites and the Non-Whites, the snake marks out the route of power. Again, viewed from another angle, the White scientists as the makers of the Computer/the Snake become a sort of medium through whom the Star Gods have sent down their gift.

It may be assumed finally that the Snake Parable inscribed in the text of *The Operation Sidewinder* makes possible more than one way by which this text can be entered. Such parabolic inscription, on another level, multiplies the possibility of interpretation and queers the pitch for the chaser of meaning. It erects ideological obstacles behind which the chased meaning conceals itself effectively. Those

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endless interactions of the Whites and non-Whites, God and Man, extra-terrestrials and the earthlings, technology and primitivism, in terms of socio-political, ontological and gendered domination are contained in the composite Snake Parable. The critical analysis here has aimed at locating and identifying various implied or stated myths which make up this parable. And this well-made, well-fed Parable of the Snake gives spine to this otherwise surrealistic and episodic structure of the play.

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INDIVIDUUM UND GESELLSCHAFT IN DEUTSCHLAND ZUR ZEIT HERMANN HESSES— IHRE WIDERSPIEGELUNG IM WERK HESSES

Amrit Mehta

Hermann Hesse hat in der stürmischsten Zeitspanne der deutschen Geschichte gelebt, in der das Individuum und die Gesellschaft auch eine turbulente Beziehung zueinander gehabt haben. Wie die deutsche Gesellschaft in dieser Zeit beschaffen war und wieviel Geltung ein Individuum in dieser Gesellschaft hatte, kann man einigermaßen dem folgenden Beispiel entnehmen :

Eine amerikanische Verhaltensforschungsarbeitsgruppe analysierte den Inhalt von je 45 in den USA und in Deutschland produzierten Theaterstücken aus dem Jahr 1927, einem Zeitpunkt, als in den beiden Ländern demokratische Regierungssysteme herrschten und beide Lander wirtschaftlich gediehen. Der Zweck der im Jahr 1948 betriebenen Forschung war, den Nationalcharakter der Amerikaner und Deutschen zu vergleichen. Die Forschungsgruppe rechtfertigte ihr Verfahren folgendermaßen :

> Our first assumption in this study is that popular drama can be regarded as a case of 'social fantasy', that the psychological constellations in the dramatic work indicate sensitive areas in the personalities of those, for whom the work has effect; their needs, assumptions and values are expressed ("projected") in the drama. The successful play must be attuned to the audience.

Die Forscher kamen zu dem Schluß, daß der Einzelperson in der damaligen deutschen Gesellschaft keine große Bedeutung beigemessen wurde :

> They found the German plays were considerably more ideological, philosophical, historical and social-mided than the American ones. The personal crimes and sins which posed the basic problems in the American plays were frequently excused or justified in the German plays. In the German plays, society was pictured as responsible - not the individual . . .[1]

Es war der Zeitpunkt, als das deutsche Volk die Misere des ersten Weltkriegs hinter sich hatte, und der National-sozialismus im Aufstieg war. In diesem Jahr erschien Hesses "Steppenwolf", seine gewaltigste Anprangerung kriegerischer Töne. "Narziß und Goldmund", "Die

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Morgenlandfahrt" und "Das Glasperlenspiel"erschienen in den folgenden 16 Jahren.

Wenngleich dieser vereinzelte Beleg nicht repräsentativ der damaligen deutschen Gesellschaft sein darf, ist die neuere deutsche Geschichte ein Zeuge davon, daß der Volksidealismus der Deutschen gemeinsam mit dem Hurra-Patriotismus von Hitlers Nationalsozialisten das Individuum Jener Zeit stark beanspruchten, das entweder eins mit der Massenhysterie oder ein Einzelganger werden mußte. Die sogenannten Gebildeten mit einigen Ausnahmen schloßen sich der Hysterie an, während die empfindsamen Künstler sich in dieser Atmosphäre verfolgt und entfremdet fühlten. Hesses Held kämpfte gegen diesen Wahnsinn in manchen seiner Spätromane, um die Gesellschaft vor dem Fall zu retten. Seine letzten Romane "Die Morgenlandfahrt" und "Das Glasperlenspiel" kann man in dieser Hinsicht progressiver bezeichnen, wobei der Held aktiv gegen das dekadente Gesellschaftssystem kämpfen will. Der erste Weltkrieg kann daher im Grunde genommen als eines der fundamentalen Faktoren bezeichnet werden, der Hesse von seiner geistigen Isolierung befreite.

Hesses Frühwerk entstand in einer Zeit der wirtschaftlichen Prosperität nach einem eifrigen Rausch der Gründerjahre. Deutschland gründete seine ersten Kolonien in der Südsee und in Afrika, und es gab eine fieberige Hast, den Nachteil der verlorenen Zeit auszugleichen. Um diese Zeit war auch der Nationalismus im Aufstieg. "Der 21-jährige Hermann Hesse lehnte jene Welt instinktiv ab und flüchtete vor ihr ins selbst-erdachte Traumreich, das . . . den ungestillten Wünschen und Sehnsüchten des jungen Dichters . . . eine Art fiktiver Erfüllung bot."[2]

Das Traumreich Hesses bestand aus einer Welt, wo die kriegerischen gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse nicht existierten, wo die Einzelperson sich vor einer Gesellschaft zu hüten hatte, die Probleme ganz anderer Art anbot. In seinem Frühwerk malte er eine dekadente Gesellschaft mit Worten aus, aber ihre Symptomatik trug nicht die kampflustigen Merkmale zeitgenössischer Mentalität. Sein Spätwerk war aber geschichtlich viel relevanter. "Wenn aber Ludwig Renn schreibt, daß seine Bücher zwar immer wieder von unverständigen Leuten als Romane bezeichnet werden, sie aber in Wirklichkeit Geschichtsdarstellungen in einer neuen Form sind', so gilt das zu einem guten Teil auch für das Werk, besonders das Spätwerk, Hermann Hesses".[3]

In Hesses erstem Roman "Peter Camenzind" spiegelt sich die Entwicklung des Kapitalismus wider, die unmenschliche und geistesfeindliche Haltung des zum Imperialismus reifenden Gesellschafts-

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systems. Der Künstler im "Camenzind" nimmt Flucht in eine asthetische Scheinwelt, in ein irreales Traumreich. Die Widersprüche der ihn umgebenden konkreten gesellschaftlichen Ordnung zwingen inh dazu, in seinen Heimatort zurückzukehren. Die "schäbige Lächerlichkeit der modernen Kultur" ist ihm widerwärtig. Seine Stellung in der Gesellschaft schildert Peter Camenzind folgendermaßen :

> Ich hatte ja schon zu Hause Satiren auf die Formen unsres heutigen Lebens geschrieben. In Florenz aber fühlte ich zum erstenmal die ganze schäbige Lächerlichkeit der modernen Kultur. Dort überfiel mich zuerst die Ahnung, daß ich in unserer Gesellschaft ewig ein Fremdling sein würde, und dort erwachte zuerst der Wunsch in mir, mein Leben außerhalb dieser Gesellschaft und womöglich im Süden weiter zu führen. Hier konnte ich mit den Menschen verkehren, hier erfreute mich auf Schritt und Tritt eine freimütige Natürlichkeit des Lebens, über welcher adelnd und verfeinernd die Tradition einer klassischen Kultur und Geschichte lag.[4]

Die Wurzeln seiner Fremdheit vor der modernen deutschen Gesellschaft greift Camenzind nicht an. "Peter Camenzind besitzt insofern typischen Charakter . . . als einer Empfindungsweise der Jugend jener Zeit Ausdruck verliehen wird. Es ist dies die Sehnsucht nach der kraftspendenden Berührung mit der Natur als Ausgleich zu dem als ungesund emfundenen, nur auf materiellen Gewinn gerichteten Stand der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft im Wilhelminischen Deutschland. In der Kunst drücken die Neuromantik und Bewegung L'art pour l'art die Abkehr von jenen Zeiterscheinungen aus, deren antihumanistischer Charakter zwar empfunden, in seinen tieferen gesellschaftlichen Ursachen aber nicht begriffen wird."[5] Ab "Demian" hat aber Hesse diese Ursachen auch begreiflich reflektiert.

Außer der antihumanistischen Haltung industrialisierten, mechanisierten, chauvinistischen deutschen Gesellschaft fand Hermann Hesse die Erziehungsmethoden der Wilhelmischen Zeit qualvoll und entmenschlicht. Das autoritäre Verhalten der Eltern und der Schullehrer trugen betrachtlich dazu bei, die Verbindung zwischen einem empfindsamen Menschen und der Gesellschaft zu stören. Ninon Hesse hat uber Hesses Kindheit geschrieben :

> Diese Dokumentation zeigt . . . wie ein vielversprechender, hochbegabter Knabe durch falsche Erziehung und nicht zu ihm passende Gemeinschaftsatmosphäre in der schwierigen Zeit der Entwicklung gequält und beinahe gebrochen wird - und wie er sich aus eigener Kraft herausarbeitet und seine Erziehung selbst in die Hand nimmt.[6]

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Sich-selbst-Erziehen ist das Stichwort bei der weiteren Entwicklung des Helden Hermann Hesses. Er geht seinen eigenen Weg und läßt sich von der krankhaft verfeinerten Gesellschaft nicht belehren. Sein Ekel über das Erziehungssystem jener Zeit findet starken Ausdruck in seinem zweiten Roman "Unterm Rad". Der Roman schildert in einem Sinne die Kindheitsgeschichte von Hermann Hesse. Die Eltern und die Schullehrer bemühten sich in dieser Zeit, den Willen des Kindes zu brechen, und ihn zu einem Instrument der Staatsmacht heranzubilden. Aus Protest floh der 14-jährige Hesse aus dem Maulbronner Seminar, weil er den antihumanistischen Grundsätze der Erziehung nicht standhalten konnte. Er wurde darauf von einem Polizisten eingefangen und wieder seinen Eltern übergeben. In den Figuren Hermann Heilner und Hans Giebenrath erlebt Hesse seine peinigende Kindheit wieder.

Von der lebensgefährlichen Bedrohung der nationalsozialistischen Politik konnte der sensitive Dichter nicht länger das Weite suchen. Die geistige Freiheit der Intellektuellen schien in den Vorkriegsjahren in Gefahr zu sein. Die Einzelpersonen, die sich der Kriegshysterie nicht anschlossen, wurden von den fanatischen Chauvinisten öffentlich kritisiert. Der von Hermann Hesse im September, 1914 publizierte Zeitungsartikel "O Freunde, nicht diese Töne" stieß ihn ins Kreuzfeuer politischer Meinungen. Seine antikriegerische Haltung provozierte die Hurra-Patrioten, die ihn zum Verräter, zum vaterlandslosen Gesellen, zum Gesinnungslumpen stempelten. Sein Aufenthalt in der Schweiz wurde als Feigheit bezeichnet. Sein Kampf gegen Nationalhaß und Völkerkrieg machte ihn zum Feind des sich entwickelnden dritten Reiches und seiner Anhänger. Die sogenannte Revolution, die er 1918 begrüßte, wurde ihm mit der Zeit abscheuenswert, weil diejenigen, die dabei mitgewirkt hatten, mit Zustimmung einer Mehrheit der gehorsamen deutschen Bevölkerung unter die Erde gebracht wurden. Der bisher verschleierte Antisemitismus wurde aggressiv zu einem Grad, daß der Mord an Walther Rathenau 1922 als "deutsche Notwehr" entschuldigt wurde; "Der dümmste Deutsche ist als Außenminister erträglicher als der klügste Jude"[7], war der Refrain überall. Hitler, Mussolini und Franco waren damalige Volkshelden geworden. "In Deutschland druben hat die geistige Stimmung etwas Anarchisches, aber auch Religiös-Fanatisches, es ist eine Stimmung wie bei Weltuntergang und kommendem tausend-jährigen Reich da"[8], schrieb Hesse 1922 an Romain Rolland. Hesses Auseinandersetzungen mit seinem Zeitgeist brachten ihn in seiner Jugend in Konflikt mit seinem Elternhaus und den damaligen Erziehungsmethoden, und in seinen späteren Jahren mit einem breiteren Teil de Gesellschaft, mit Bürgertum und mit dem offizielen Deutschland. Der im Ausland le bende Hermann Hesse blieb von den Geschehnissen der späteren

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Kriegsjahren nicht unberührt. Die Angehörigen seiner judischen Frau Ninon wurden in Himmlers KZ-Lagern ermordet und Hesses Bücher in Deutschland indirekt verboten. Der von Hesse längst prophezeite zweite Weltkrieg brach endgültig 1939 aus, aber Hesse hatte schon durch seine Zeitungsartiken, Briefe und Bücher gegen einen neuen Krieg gekampft. Seine Perspektive zum Leben hatte viel früher einen Wandel erlebt, der eine Hinwendung zur 'vita activa' und damit zur Gesellschaft bedeutete.

Die Spuren der eine andere Entwicklung nehmenden Attitüde wurden vorerst in seinem Roman "Demian" erkennbar, in dem Hesse sich vor dem damaligen Milieu nicht zurückgezogen hat, sondern in dem er sich vielmehr mit den zeitgenössischen Problemen direkt auseinandergesetzt hat. Die Herdenbildungstendenz der Bürger, die Angst voreinander, vor dem Unbekannten hatten, führte dazu, daß man verlernte, vergnügt zu sein, und erlernte, aus Angst andere Menschen zu töten. Der Held des "Demian" spürt, daß "es Auseinandersetzungen gibt. Sie werden kommen . . .Naturlich werden sie die Welt nicht 'verbessern'. Ob die Arbeiter ihre Fabrikanten totschlagen, oder ob Rußland und Deutschland aufeinanderschießen, es werden nur Besitzer getauscht . . .Diese Welt, wie sie jetzt ist, will sterben, sie will zugrunde gehen, und sie wird es."[9] Der Weltuntergang schien dem empfindsamen Individuum ein logischer Ausweg, als daß es ein Teil der großen Herde wird, die ohnehin bereit war, sich ins Kriegsfeuer zu stürzen. Die damalige Gemeinschaft zu brechen war das Ziel dieses Todeswunsches; nur der Tandava, der Todestanz des Gottes Shiva konnte eine dekadente Welt zerstören, damit Gott Brahman eine neue gerechte Welt schaffen könnte. Der Grundgedanke scheint dabei pazifistisch zu sein : Der Held einer degenerierten, mächtig neue Waffen erschaffenden, in eine tiefe Verödung des Geistes geratenen abendländischen Gesellschaft will keinen Widerstand leisten. Aber dieser Gedanke enthält in sich die Spuren des Einswerdens mit der Mitwelt, wobei die Mitmenschen vor den Kriegsgefahren gewarnt werden. Dabei verrichtet der Erzähler seinen "Karma", dem Kriegswahn Widerstand zu leisten, während die erwünschte Vernichtung als ein Symbol der Warnung vor der bevorstehenden Kriegskatastrophe benutzt wird. Natürlich wird dabei gemeint, wie beim Hinduismus, daß die Bosheit zunächst vernichtet werden muß, damit die Gute herrscht. Ohne daß eine böse Welt zerstort wird, kann eine gerechte Ordnung nicht wiederhergestellt werden.

Hesses Ton wird eindeutig aggressiver in einem weiteren Roman "Der Steppenwolf", in dem er die zeitgenössischen gesellschaftlichen

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Mißstände nachdrücklicher ausmalt und attackiert. Da wird eine Gesellschaft geschildert, in welcher der nächste Krieg vorbereitet wird, in der Juden und Kommunisten für hassenswert gehalten werden, in der ein "lang vorbereiteter, lang erwarteter, langgefürchteter Kampf zwischen Menschen und Maschinen"[10] zum Ausbruch kommt, wo "ein jeder, dem die Luft zu eng wurde und dem das Leben nicht recht mehr mundete, seinem Verdruß schlagenden Ausdruck velieh und die allgemeine Zerstörung der blechernen zivilisierten Welt anzubahnen strebte".[11] Die Andeutung ist absolut unzweideutig; von national - sozialistischer Hysterie der Zwanziger Jahre ist die Rede. Der "Steppenwolf" Harry Haller bleibt von dem geschichtlichen Geschehen nicht abgekapselt und schreibt Zeitungsartikeln gegen die kriegerischen Töne. Er glaubt "es stünde besser um unser Land und um die Welt, wenn wenigstens die paar denkfähigen Menschen sich zu Vernunft und Friedensliebe bekannten, statt blind und besessen auf einen neuen Krieg loszusteuern."[12] Die Generäle, die Großindustriellen, die Politiker, die Zeitungen, sie sind alle wie von einem nationalistischen Wahn besessen. Die einfühlsame Einzelperson dagegen trachtet nicht, diese Pflicht zu erfüllen, ist daher unter großen Druck von Seiten der Gesellschaft. Den "Steppenwolf" nennt Hesse selbst als "ein Dokument der Zeit"; Harry Hallers Seelenkrankheit ist "nicht die Schrulle eines einzelnen, sondern die Krankheit der Zeit selbst, die Neurose jener Generation, welcher Haller angehört, und von welcher keineswegs nur die schwachen und minderwertigen Individuen befallen scheinen, sondern gerade die starken, geistigen, begabtesten."[13] Hesse tadelt endlich das apathische Individuum in sich, das er verantwortlich für die Misere hält.

Mit der Zeitkritik hat Hesse in diesem Roman auch Selbstkritik geübt. "Es ist zu beachten, daß Hesse sich selbst als Steppenwolf sieht und seine Zeit als solche betrachtet. Er übt dabei nicht allein an der Zeit, sondern und vor allem auch an sich scharfe Kritik."[14]

Außer "Steppenwolf" stellt das "Glasperlenspiel" im starksten Sinne die angekränkelte deutsche Gesellschaft der Vorkriegsjahre metaphorisch in Gestalt von "feuilletonistischem Alter" dar. Von einer im Untergang stehenden Welt, von einem sterbenden, sterbenwollenden Europamenschen ist die Rede in "Klingsors letzter Sommer". Die Pest in "Narziß und Goldmund" ist vielmehr ein Kriegswahn, wobei Juden verbrannt werden, wo die Welt zerstört und vergiftet scheint, wo keine Freude, keine Unschuld, keine Liebe mehr auf Erden zu geben scheint. Im "feuilletonistischen Alter" im "Glasperlenspiel" spiegeln sich die Komplexitäten einer Zeit wider, in der der Autor lebte, und an dieser Zeit hat er eine umfassende Kritik geübt. "Die Geschichtsphilosophie der 'feuilletonistischen' Epoche war auch nicht dazu

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angetan, Achtung zu gebieten. Mit Sicherheit ist hier die faschistische Historiographie angegriffen . . ."[15]

Die National-Sozialisten vergifteten um diese Zeit die deutsche Psyche mit Lüge und Haß und die wahre deutsche Kultur stand im Untergang. Das "Glasperlenspiel" darf daher ein Widerstand gegen Hitlers Haßtirade gegen alles Wertvolle in deutscher Kultur betrachtet werden. Eine "Periode politischer und kriegerischer Gewitter und ein über Nacht emporgeschossenes Mißtrauen gegen sich selbst, gegen seine eigene Kraft and Würde, ja gegen seine Existenz"[16] ließ das Individuum in einer Leere, wo ihm zwei Wege übrigblieben, entweder eins mit dem Herdenwillen zu werden, oder zu protestieren, um die Gesellschaft vor einer bevorstehenden Katastrophe zu retten. Joseph Knecht suchte den Weg des Wandels. Er wollte nicht mehr von dem geschichtlichen Phänomen abgekapselt bleiben, möchte das "feuilletonistische Alter" nicht wieder erleben.

Das Individuum in der Gesellschaft z.Z. Hermann Hesses hatte entweder gegen seine Mitwelt order gegen sich selbst zu kämpfen. Die existierenden Umstände zwangen es auch dazu, in eine eigene unbeseelte Welt zu kriechen: Der Held in Hesses Romanen ist auch eine Widerspiegelung seiner turbulenten Zeiten.

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SECTION-II

Geography

K.D. Sharma .. Themes in Colonial Urban Landscape in India : A Study of Bungalow names in the Hill Stations.

Neelam Grover .. A Cultural-Geographical Analysis of An Indian Village : Some Conceptual and Methodological Statements.

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THEMES IN COLONIAL URBAN LANDSCAPE IN INDIA : A STUDY OF BUNGALOW NAMES IN THE HILL STATIONS

K.D. Sharma

The hill stations in India, as in the other Third World former colonies, represent a major component in the structure of colonial urban influence. The establishment of hill stations in India represents a unique phenomenon of urban growth in which an alien culture group created an environment, physical and social, with the sole objective of providing itself with a sense of being a part of the Metropolitan society "at Home" and of maintaining the life styles peculiar to that society. The existence and *modus operandi* of the representative colonial cultural institutions related to the functions of residence, religion and recreation is illustrative of this *leitmotif*. The spatial expression of these factors is manifested in the characteristic colonial urban landscape in the hill stations.

While the religious and recreational functions were manifested on the townscape of the hill stations as structures operating at community level and gave a distinct character to individual hill stations, it were the numerous domestic buildings in which individual attitudes found full expression. In contrast to the uniformity of "official" and public landscape of "the plains", the private environment of the hills was consciously varied and utilised for individual expression (King, 1976, p. 172). These variations in individual expression however were confined within the ambit of "Englishness" of the various landscape elements. For example a military officer in 1828 stated that at Subathu "European shrubs and trees greeted the eye . . ." (Archer E. 1833, Vol. 1, p. 207). Similarly it was reported that "The climate of Sonawar (near Simla) is thoroughly English . . . ." (Royal Commission, 1863, p. 4 quoted in King, 1976, p. 165). Such an attitude was not restricted to the hill stations in the Himalayas alone. In 1877 a member of the colonial community stated, "Having seen (Ootacumunde) I affirm it to be a paradise. The afternoon was rainy and the road muddy but such beautiful English rain, such delicious English mud," (Brown H., 1948, p. 27).

The townscape of hill stations in India thus represents an attempt to consciously recreate a familiar landscape by transplanting elements from their cultural hearth. This is best illustrated in the practice of naming buildings whether monumental or domestic, a trait not

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common to the Indian life style. The naming of domestic buildings was specially prominent in the hill stations because as mentioned earlier these provided a more private social environment to the members of the colonial community.

Objective

The paper is an attempt to identify the elements and special themes through an analysis of the names given to domestic structures in the hill stations in India as a part of an understanding of the phenomenon of cultural landscape transferrence effected by members of the colonial community in India. For this purpose the hill stations of Kasauli, Mussoorie and Nainital have been selected.

Study Towns

Kasauli was established as a cantonment town in 1842. It is located 13 kilometres from Dharampur off the Kalka-Shimla highway. The town is sited on a ridge at a general elevation of 6000 feet. Mussoorie is also sited on a ridge with comparable elevation. It was established in 1826 as a sanatarium. It is located about 30 kilometres from Dehra Dun. Nainital is a valley town and although the site was known the regular growth of the town began only after 1842.

Data Base and Methodology

The data base for the present study comprises of the names of individual bungalows in Kasauli, Mussoorie and Nainital. The names of ceremonial and monumental structures, and those of structures related to public and community functions such as hotels, offices, churches, clubs, residences of the members of top echelons of administration have been excluded from present analysis as these were not considered truly representative of the personal preferences at the individual level.

The bungalow names in Kasauli have been taken from Kasauli and One Hundred Years of Kasauli Club published in June 1980. In addition, intensive field work at Kasauli helped in collecting additional information in placing these names in a perspective relevant to this study. The bungalow names for Mussoorie and Nainital were collected from old Survey of India guide maps.

These names were intensively analysed to identify the recurrent themes. This analysis is based mainly on the information available in the following sources :

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3. Money, D.C. (1954) *Introduction to Human Geography*, University Tutorial Press Ltd., London.

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A classification of the bungalow names on the basis of etymology would be highly desirable but has not been attempted because it would not be relevant in a study in the Indian context and would comprise a deviation from the focus of this study. However, in the bungalow names related to different aspects of ecological setting there is a general convergence of etymological meaning of bungalow names and bungalow sites.

General Attributes

Almost half of the total of 421 bungalow names analysed for this study are identified as simple names structurally and the other half comprises of compound names. The name in these categories are not confined to any one aspect of the overall landscape of the study towns. Interestingly, a similar division can also be identified in terms of bungalow names containing a generic and those without a generic. Almost half the bungalow names analysed in this study have a generic. The generic component generally occurs as a suffic and only in a few bungalow names as a prefix. The generic components identified are cove, combe, common, dun, dale, del, drum, field, feld, ford, glen, tun, ton, wick wood and wald. These generic components refer to either (i) a valley or some attribute of a valley or a similar feature, for example a recess, a hollow or a valley (cove, dun, dale), a small wooded valley (dell), short valley on side of hill (combe), valley with a river (glen), or (ii) to the attribute of a site or specifically to the existence of a town or hamlet. For example a farm or a village (tun, ton), an enclosure (field, feld), a shallow place for crossing a river by warding (ford), an open upland site containing trees (wood, wald), a pasture town or hamlet (wick). The use of wick as a generic is rare except in place names (Oxford English Dictionary). The practice of giving a place name in Britain to an individual building in India could either be related to these names serving as symbols to identification or to the classical development of the isolated farmstead found only in Europe. There is

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also an equally strong possibility that the house in India served as a surrogate for the settlement in the perception of the individual members of the colonial community in India.

Major Themes In Bungalow Names

The process of identifying the dwelling places by giving them names is not common to the Indian tradition and was introduced in India on a large scale by the colonial community. The main objective was to give a personal identity to the dwelling places and a desire to maintain a European identity in a place thousands of miles away from here. The bungalow names reveal a strong tendency of borrowing from the cultural wealth which the inhabitants brought with them. The specific name given to a bungalow thus reflects the taste, the attitude toward the particular aspect of the site, and the perception of the inhabitants of these bungalows.

The major themes and the number of bungalow names related to each theme in the study towns is given in Table I. It must however be pointed out here that the exact number of bungalow names in a particular theme is not as important as the trend represented by these.

An analysis of the 421 names from Kasauli, Mussoorie and Nainital reveals five major themes. These are, ecology, phenomenon of cultural landscape transference, perception, personal names and aesthetic names in the same order of importance (Table I). Of these ecology, phenomenon of cultural landscape transference, and personal names are comprised of sub-divisions related to the main theme.

The predominance of a particular theme in a particular study town indicates the composite taste and perception of its inhabitants and may not follow the general trend. For example, as against the general trend in which ecology emerges as the major theme (167 out of 421 bungalow names) the bungalow names in Kasauli suggest a cultural landscape transference as the main theme (23 out of 76 bungalow names). Similarly perception emerges as the second most important theme in the bungalow name in Nainital (25 out of 86 names) against the general trend of cultural landscape transference being the second most important theme (Table I).

A description of the major themes, their sub-divisions and examples of bungalow names in these is as follows.

Ecology

This theme refers to the physical environment of the site of the study towns. It is the most important theme in the naming of

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TABLE I

Distribution of Bungalow Names According to Major Themes

Themes	Total Number of bungalow Names	Kasauli	Mussoorie	Nainital
I. ECOLOGY	167	16	124	27
(a) Geomorphic features	42	3	29	10
(b) Hydrological features	15	—	13	2
(c) Vegetation	85	9	63	13
(d) Birds and Animals	11	2	9	—
(e) Climatic Advantage	14	2	10	2
II. CULTURAL TRANSFERENCE	90	23	51	16
(a) Literature	9	—	7	2
(b) Place Name	63	14	38	11
(c) Religion	9	5	2	2
(d) Regional Association	9	4	4	1
III. PERCEPTION	80	10	45	25
IV. PERSONAL NAMES	62	16	35	11
(a) Surname	28	8	14	6
(b) Female first name	21	6	13	2
(c) Male first name	13	2	8	3
V. AESTHETIC NAMES	22	11	4	7
Total	421	76	259	86

bungalows at the aggregate level (167 out of 421 bungalow names) as well as at Mussoorie (124 out of 259 bungalow names) and Nainital (27 out of 86 bungalow names). For a better understanding of naming of bungalows on the basis of ecology, this theme is sub-divided according to different ecological elements. These sub divisions relate to geomorphic features, hydrological features, type and species of vegetation, birds and animals and climatic advantage of the site of the bungalow. Among these subdivisions bungalow names based on type and species of vegetation are the most common at the aggregate as well as the individual hill station level. Such names as "Poplars", "The Firs", "Ivy Ladge", "Dahlia Cottage" "Briar wood", "Fernlee" and "Oak Cottage" relate to this sub-theme. The examples of names related to other themes are, "The Mount", "The Ridge" and "Dale Cottage" related to geomorphic features, "Dave Cottage" "Glenbrook" "Abergelalie" relate to hydrological features, "Ravenswood", "Antler's cottage" to birds

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and animals, and "Sunny Bank", "Sunny Side" and "Airyland" to climatic advantage.

Cultural Landscape Transference

This theme refers to the bungalow names derived from some cultural trait or feature which forms a part of Western cultural landscape. In the study of process of cultural landscape transference this theme has a special importance because the names given to individual bungalows can be definitely traced back to their areas of origin. In other words the names comprising this theme represent an attempt at a duplication of the original but in a different setting. Cultural landscape transference is the second most important theme at the aggregate level (90 out of 421 names) but represents a deviation in Kasauli where it is the major theme (23 out of 76 bungalow names) and in Nainital where it occupies the third place (16 out of 86 names).

The names comprising this theme relate to literature, place names, religion and regional associations which represent the sub-divisions of this theme. Among these bungalows names derived from place names are most common (63 out of 90 bungalow names) at the aggregate as well as the individual study town level (Table I). Such names as "Belvedere", "Balmont", "Kynaston", "Kentucky" and "Bathwell" belong to this category. Such names as "Kenilworth", "Waverly", and "Westword House" relate to literature. The religious basis is reflected in such bungalow names as "Abbey", "Rectory Lodge", and "Parsonage" while "Blarney" "Benmore", "Monte Cristo", "Scotch House" "Isla Cottage" reflect regional associations.

Perception

This theme relates to the manner in which an individual perceived the house to be. It is the third most important theme at the aggregate level, the second in Nainital, and fourth at Kasauli (Table I). There are no sub divisions of this theme because, generally, although the specific name given to a bungalow may vary, the common perception pertains to viewing the houses as a comfortable cosy place of rest. Some examples of bungalow names reflecting this theme are "Beau Sejour", "Rest House", "Rest Port", "Elysium", and "Harmony".

Personal Names

Personal names form the fourth important theme in the naming of bungalows at the aggregate level but are as important as ecology as a theme in Kasauli (Table I). This theme includes three subdivisions, surnames, female first names and male first names in the same order of importance except in Nainital (Table I). This theme best represents the

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attempt at personalisation of the landscape. Generally the bungalow names in this theme contain two components, the personal name and some aspect from any of the other themes, for example "Annie Ville", "Carroll Villa", "Donald Cottage", "Eric's Own", "Gilbert House", and "Ludlow Castle".

Aesthetic Names

This theme essentially refers to the naming of bungalows to emphasise some aesthetic aspect of the site. This is the fifth important theme in the naming of the bungalows (22 out of 421 bungalow names). The bungalow names reflecting this theme almost without exception emphasise the natural view obtained from the site. Considering the importance attached to the view from a bungalow (King, 1976, pp. 131-132 and 172) this is not surprising. The small number of bungalow names reflecting this theme could probably be related to the restrictions placed by the site of the hill station. Some examples of bungalow names in this category are "Fair View", "Snow View", "Dale View", "Pleasure View", "River View" and "Spring View".

Summary

The establishment of hill stations in India, as in other former colonies in the Third World, represents a unique phenomenon by which the colonial community created a physical and social environment for the preservation and maintenance of a life style in imitation of the culture traits of the Metropolitan society "at Home". The townscape of hill stations therefore contains attributes which reflect the attempts of the colonial community to recreate an environment similar to the one they had left behind and conducive to the maintenance of colonial life style. It is suggested that the names given to domestic structures by members of the colonial community represent an important element of the townscape of hill stations and can help in an understanding of the process of recreation of a familiar landscape at the individual level. Such an understanding would also be of considerable help in a study of the phenomenon of transference of cultural landscape by a culture group in an alien environment.

The analysis of bungalow names at Kasauli, Mussoorie and Nainital suggests five major themes which form the basis of these names. The themes relate to various aspects of ecology, transference of names from the cultural landscape "at Home", perception of the bungalow as a home at the individual level, personal names, and aesthetic aspects at the site of the bungalow in the same order of importance. Interestingly, although these themes recurr in the individual study towns, not many bungalow names are repeated.

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Structurally, the bungalow names divide themselves into two neat halves comprising simple and compound names. Similarly, about half of the total bungalow names analysed contain a generic component, usually as a suffix.

The themes of bungalow names identified in this study are considered fairly comprehensive but by no means exhaustive. It would require a wider data base and a more comprehensive analysis to fully understand and interpret this important element of the colonial urban landscape in India.

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A CULTURAL-GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF AN INDIAN VILLAGE : SOME CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL STATEMENTS

Neelam Grover

Studies of individual villages have a firm and old tradition in the growing corpus of both Western Geography and Indian Geography. However, the use to which these studies have been put has been notably different. Rural sociologists, economists, and anthropologists have contributed much in this direction. Towards the middle of the present century, studies of individual villages were conducted widely by the American and British anthropologists under the sponsorship of Foreign Area Studies financed by the Office of Naval Research and the Department of State in U.S.A. and the Social Science Research Council in U.K.[1] Several studies were financed by various fellowships such as the Guggenheim Fellowship and also those awarded by the American Institute of Indian Studies and the Indian Institute of American Studies. Indians too followed the pattern set by their American and British counterparts and the focus of several doctoral dissertations were single village studies. The best known among these studies were produced by M.N. Srinivas[2] and S.C. Dubey.[3]

A further strong impetus to these kinds of studies was provided by the Social Studies Division of the Census of India in their compilation of village Monographs. Providing the most useful, wide-ranging, and comprehensive inventory of all aspects of individual villages they, however, failed to provide any theoretical leads.

In fact individual village studies received much attention from Indian geographers since the late fifties and through the sixties. The emphasis of these studies was, however, consistently on different aspects of the attributes of rural settlements[4] which alone were highlighted and very often the physical factors were given predominance in explanation. The role of history and culture was practically completely ignored. These investigations lacked any conceptual framework within which they were conducted. Their conclusions, therefore, were mere summaries of their individual works which contributed nothing by way of generalisations or strengthening any existing conceptual outline. These studies were essentially inventories lacking internal cohesion or a well defined focus. Thus, studies of individual villages in geography have been highly fragmented and, therefore, limited in scope. They have dealt with individual villages not

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in a holistic manner but as if each settlement represents a broken part of the spectrum.

On the other hand, individual village studies in sociology and anthropology have tended to be holistic. Those by anthropologists particularly, reflect a recognition and consideration of the concept of culture. To mention a few, studies by McKim Marriott, Srinivas, and others harbour an underlying thread of recognition of a paradigm of something Pan-Indian, an Indian Village. Hence, detailed studies of several individual villages would lead to drawing generalizations which could hold good for the whole. However, sociologists and anthropologists did not concern themselves with satisfying the norm of regional representation. Although the villages selected by them for study did reflect the regional character, they were not studied as representative of the region. Geographers on the other hand, did recognise the village as representative of a region, as also a region associated with villages having common empirical attributes. Their studies, however, revealed a persistent, underlying lack of concern with the recognition of, or a conscious, deliberate application of the concept of culture.

A preoccupation with the study of the elements of Rural Settlement Geography and the empirical attributes of the rural settlements led to scant attention being paid to villages as units in a cultural landscape. Pioneer studies by Mukerji[5] of rural settlements and their attributes in the essential context of Cultural Geography with an attempt to discover the cultural meanings, processes involved in the gradual evolution of the attributes of rural settlements, and to the rural cultural landscape, gave new direction to studies in Rural Settlement Geography. Subsequently, while studies on empirical attributes, functions, and elements of rural settlements continued, a leaning towards their analysis in the context of Cultural Geography became evident. The significance of these studies can at no time be undermined, but it cannot be denied that studies of individual villages recognising their constituent settlement and field landscapes and their evolution through time and space; to recognize the regional representation as part of a greater whole and thereby linking them to the entire spectrum of the rural settlement fabric, have not been common.

Rural settlements need the special attention of geographers not merely to expedite their supreme significance as the incipient units of the settlement fabric, but also as the hearths of culture. In fact, most of the ancient cultures in the Oriental Civilization, have been and continue to be rural in origin and character. A rural settlement itself is really a corollary of the operation of cultural processes in a given

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environment through time. It is in fact a cultural artefact having been moulded from and contributing to the surrounding area, being the expression of the culture of the group that inhabits it. Each rural settlement, therefore, is the outcome of certain settlement processes, each controlled in its expression by the culture of the group that inhabits it.

In this context, an indepth study of one individual village in India has much more meaning in the understanding of the Indian rural scene in its social and cultural matrix, then perhaps a study of thousands of villages through sampling. 'The study of a single village is productive of much more than knowledge about a single village'.[6]

Having for long remained the domain of rural sociologists and anthropologists, the significance of such studies in Cultural Geography, especially in Rural Settlement Geography, is implicit. No doubt indepth studies of individual rural settlements will have an intimate relationship with and relevance to the work of sociologists and anthropologists in the same manner in which the latter have contributed to the understanding of rural settlements.

Any rural settlement is the microcosm reflecting the macrocosm of which it is the nucleus. Studies undertaken by social scientists of individual villages belonging to different culture groups and in different regions reveal, rather distil of something Pan-Indian, while at the same time being conscious of regional variations. In fact, two different character clusters interplay with each other, that of the regional tradition and that of the Pan-Indian tradition. Individual settlements are to a large extent region and ecology specific, each maintaining its identity but contributing to the Pan-Indian principle. The regional tradition is a modification of, in fact, a reflection of the Pan-Indian tradition. The latter is, however, so deeply entrenched that differentiation between the two becomes almost impossible. As seen in figure one, the constituent villages within the different regions, R1, R2, R3, and R4, will have closer affinity with each other than perhaps with the villages of the other regions. Thus, V1, V2, V3, and V4 of R1 are more similar and culturally closer to each other than to V1, V2, V3, and V4 of R2, R3, or R4. Although each village is a distinctive and unique entity, it definitely partakes of the regional culture, which it reflects and with which it can be immediately identified. Each region as a whole partakes something of the Pan-Indian village, but at the same time retains and maintains its own distinctive character, which distinguishes it from the other regions. The underlying thread of the paradigm of the Indian Village, however, links the different regions, R1, R2, R3, and R4. Thus, R1, R2, R3, and R4 act as a media reflecting onto their constituent

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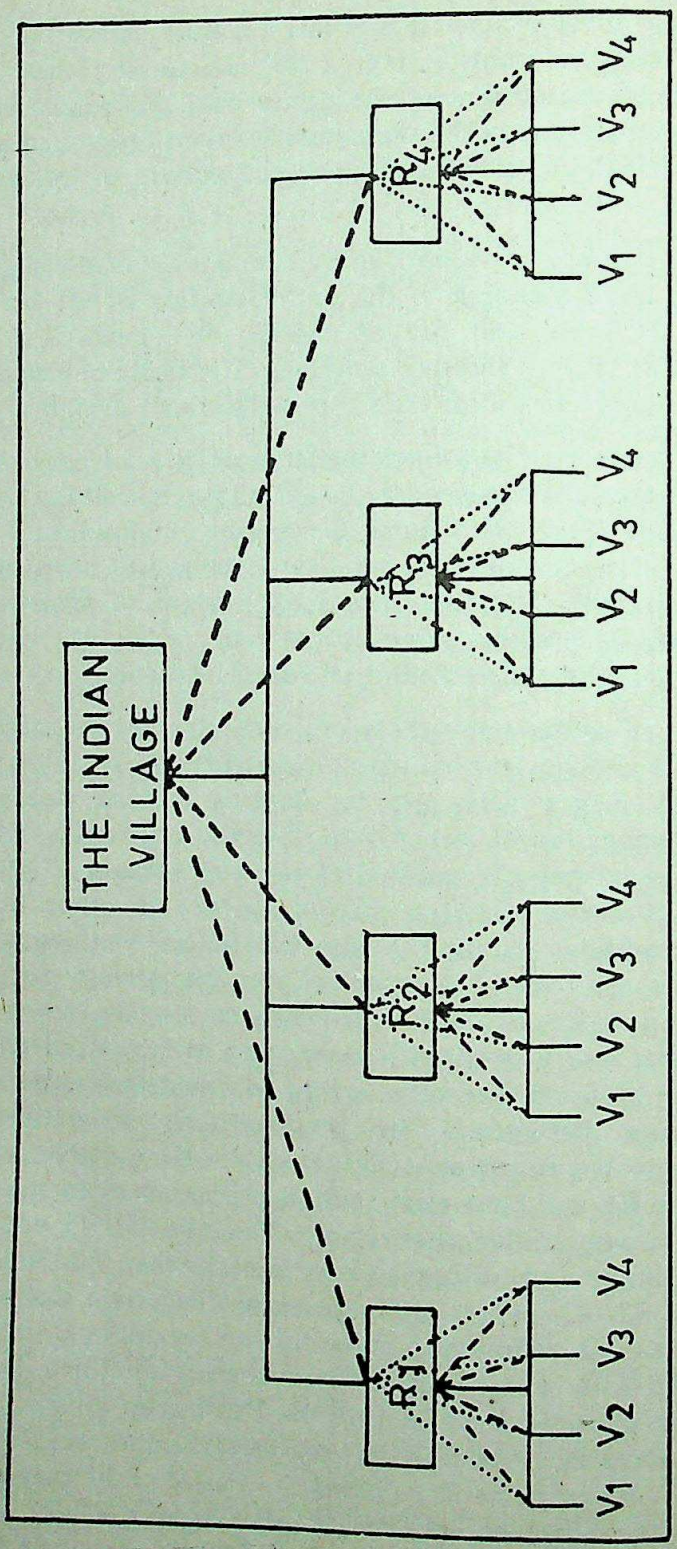

Fig. 1

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villages their own respective, distinctive character as also something of the holistic image of the Indian Village, thereby building up the entire spectrum of the rural fabric. The prime significance of individual village studies lies in that it contributes to the paradigm of the Indian Village and thus, provides towards the additional validation of the principle of a Pan-Indian tradition which is arching over everything. At no time, however, can the Pan-Indian tradition be regarded as a summation or aggregation of regional tradition.

In individual village studies we are on much surer ground with specificities of site, situation, size, type, caste, and culture. In fact, they provide an empirical illumination and expansion of the deductive generalizations of Pan-Indian nature. This involves no attempt at statistical jugglery. Region and ecology specific, the study of individual settlements is and should continue to generate interest and be important till such time that the variations in the Indian rural fabric have been fully documented and analysed.

Individual settlement studies could be either of a multi-caste or a uni-caste settlement. The emphasis need not be on the caste structure alone, but its role in the social and cultural functions of the settlement. This would provide an ideal opportunity to study its landscape expressions both in the settlement and field landscapes, and the hierarchical *jajmani* system[7] which links it to the fundamental social structure of the Indian rural fabric. On the other hand, the uni-caste or the uni-clan settlement becomes important in providing a different dimension, wherein it becomes possible to study in greatest detail the intricacies and landscape expressions of the intra-family and inter-family relationships in the social, private, and domestic realms and their cultural uniqueness. In the broader framework too, the individual settlement is also a link in the horizontal *jajmani* system, as result of which it thrives and which it in turn supports.

Where the individual settlement belongs to a single caste or culture group, a study of the processes of settling and their landscape expressions become vital tools in the understanding of the culture group, its *genre de vie* and its place in the matrix of the Indian rural scene. The study of a single settlement provides insight into the two essential components of the vernacular, cultural landscape, the settlement landscape and the field landscape. Contrary to the belief that, 'India's ancient and traditional villages are unchanging or slowly changing social phenomena',[8] the evolution of the settlement and field landscapes reflects the subtle dynamism inherent in each rural settlement. In fact, the existing landscapes provide only a link in the evolutionary process and an analysis of the landscape expressions

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of the material and non-material elements of culture lead to the discovery of relict features, which although endowed with new meanings and perhaps functions, are the key to its cultural history, helping to reconstruct the succession of cultural landscapes and hence, the processes of settling.

Such a study involving the settlement landscape necessitates first an understanding of the culture of the group inhabiting the settlement, its *genre de vie*, traditions, norms, value systems, and religion. A study of the field landscape initiates a study of the land tenure system, the initial acquisition and subsequent division of land resulting in the evolution of the field pattern, basic traditions and norms adhered to in this respect, level of technological know-how, land utilization by way of the crops grown, the irrigation methods practised.

In the wider context of culture, history, and ecology, a single settlement leads of the study of its own intra-relationships within this triology and its inter-relationship with the settlements of the surrounding region and through them to the entire rural settlement fabric of India. An expression of culture on the landscape, a settlement is essentially the creation of the interaction of the inhabiting culture groups to the ecological context through time. Each one of its elements therefore, can lead to an endless amount of discovery.

At attempt in this study is being made to illustrate the importance and significance of the study of any single rural settlement in the context of Culture Geography to an understanding of a people, a region as perceived, exploited, and transformed into one deriving its identity from and lending its identity to the inhabitants. As Mikesell observed, 'any sign of human action in a landscape implies a culture, recalls a history, and demands an ecological interpretation, the history of any people evokes its setting in a landscape, its ecological problems, and its cultural concommitants, and the recognition of a culture calls for the discovery of traces it has left on the earth'.[9]

Kniffen emphasised that the material details of the landscape are the geographer's lore.[10] In this context the study of individual settlements gains primary significance as it has a vertical structure and also a spatial structure or horizontal extensions. Thus, if several hundred settlements were to be studied, a detailed portrayal of the vertical structure, which by nature is individual and not amenable to horizontal, spatial translation, would be rendered impossible. In such a case an analysis of how the vertical structure is generated, sustained and how it undergoes modification would not be possible. This can be done only by the indepth study of a single settlement. For such a study any rural settlement can be selected.

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Lost in the vast anonimity of the rural landscape, each rural settlement is the home or microcosm of either one or more culture groups. Unique in its identity, a settlement is intricately linked to the regional rural fabric necessitating a look back into its culture, culture history, its culture ecology, the interplay of which has resulted in the creation of its cultural landscape, making it one of a vaster culture area. A cultural-geographical analysis of any individual settlement must, therefore, essentially follow a similar sequential order to study in detail all its aspects individually as also one of a larger spectrum of rural settlements of India. Mikesell defined the personality of Cultural Geography to include (a) historical orientation; (b) a stress of man's role as an agent of environmental modifications; (c) a preoccupation with material culture; (d) a bias in favour of rural areas in this country and non-Western or preindustrial societies abroad; (e) a tendency to seek support from anthropology; (f) a commitment to substantive research and a consequent attitude of extreme individualism, and (g) a preference for fieldwork rather than "armchair geography".[11] The methodology adopted should attempt at illustrating and validating these proposed theoretical formulations. The essence of such studies should, therefore, essentially stem from fieldwork. Analysis of relevant topographical maps, published and unpublished records, and oral and recorded history must also be used but primarily as tools to substantiate information collected through fieldwork wherein keen observation of the landscape is the most fundamental and pivotal task. Drawing of sketches, taking notes, interviews and photographs would become secondary but corroboratory to an observation of details. Beginning with the observation of the general rural landscape, a bird's eye view, a nesting hierarchical structuring of the manner and details of observation should first be worked out. This only reiterates the suggestions first put forth by Suess and Bruhnes and later suppoted by Kniffen.[12] Thus, what is involved is the collection of information at different levels of observation.(Fig. 2)

An individual settlement being the focus of study, as a first step, it becomes important to extensively traverse and keenly observe the surrounding regional rural landscape in an effort to discover and understand the economic, social and cultural regional mileu which has created and sustained the settlement. The evolutionary processes involved in the evolution of any one settlement do partake something of the evolutionary processes operative in the region as a whole. Subsequently, at a larger scale of observation, coming to the village landscape; the focus would shift to the constituent settlement landscape, the field landscape, the house types, and the field pattern, all forming the core elements of Cultural Geography. A study and

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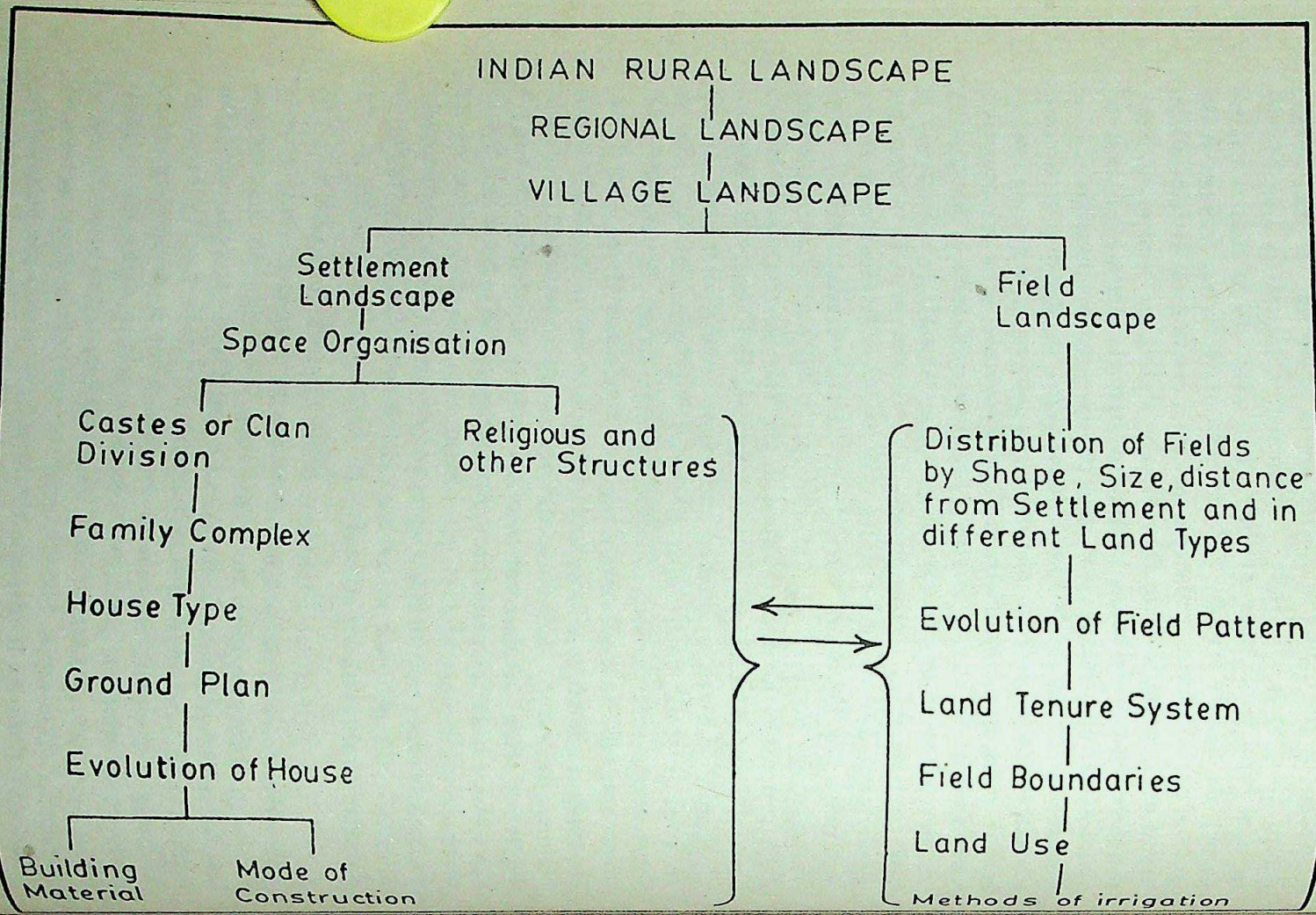

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observation of the village landscape would involve frequent visits to the village under study and an observation of the physical endowments of its site, the surrounding ecology, the exploitation of which provides sustenance to the inhabitants. Also involved would be an observation of the extent of the village territory, its outer limits, whether formed by natural or man-made boundaries, the expression on the landscape of the boundary or *hadbast*. For any later reference to official records it is vital at this stage to note the *hadbast* number of the village. Within the *mauza* (village territory), the location of the *majra* (settlement proper), whether on the periphery, in the centre or at any prominent point too, should be noted. As mentioned earlier, the core elements, the settlement landscape the field landscape, the house type, and field pattern, should then be taken up in detail.

Within the purview of the settlement landscape, a careful observation of the organisation of space should be the prime focus. Fieldwork at this stage involves drawing the ground plan of the entire settlement in an attempt to discover any underlying principles of space organisation, particularly the relationship of one house to another, of a house with the street, and of one street to another street. An identification of any division of the settlement area on caste, clan or family lines, subtly revealing the operation of the ritual-purity pollution principle[13], should be attempted. This must be done simultaneously with collecting information from the village elders about the establishment of the settlement, its name, any cultural, ecological, or historical associations. Also should be noted information regarding the location of the oldest house, the gradual evolution of an individual house, phases, if any, in the evolution of the individual house, and the processes, whether additive or divisive, involved in its evolution. Similarly, stages in the evolution of the family complex and ultimately the settlement as a whole should also be observed and noted. Collection of such information must necessarily be accompanied with sketches. Composition of the society, its caste and clan composition, specific cultural dictates and their expressions on the landscape, must be keenly observed. Religious and other buildings on the landscape, their symbolism, their function, and their significance in the mode of living of the inhabiting group should be found out.

Further, the house itself should be the focus of study, being the most vital expression on the landscape of both the culture of the inhabiting culture group and its *genre de vie*, by which the group sustains itself. A detailed diagram of the ground-plan or partitioning of the house space must first be drawn, and the constituent components of the house, be clearly marked. A close observation of the house

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components, the living rooms, rooms for cattle, rooms for storing grain or agricultural instruments, the courtyard, verandahs, kitchen hearth area, and any other structure within the precincts of the house, and their arrangement in the context of the culture of the people as also the available ecological context, would be fundamental to the understanding and study of the any individual rural settlement in the context of Cultural Geography. An attempt should be made to understand the perception and recongnition of the components of the house as social, domestic, and private realms, offering different levels of familiarity in inter-family and intra-family interactions. This would highlight the functional, cultural, and religious symbolism of the house. Variations in the arrangement of the house components in different houses must also be noted as also the reasons for doing so. Information regarding the local vernacular names given to the different rooms and other integral parts of the house, their functions, the use to which they are actually put, and religious symbolism attached if any should be collected through interview. This collection of information should be accompanied by relevant sketches and photographs of the components of the individual house. Finally, information about the building material used and the mode of construction, the architectural design and symbolism attached to it, must also be gathered.

Any study of the rural landscape would be incomplete without the analysis of the field pattern. The field landscape is essentially an expression of the community decision through their culture and mode of living. A study of the field landscape, therefore, entails not merely a description of the fields of terms of their size, shape, distance from the settlement, their location in the different land types, and their land use, but also an attempt at analysing the evolution of the field pattern through time and in space. The field pattern is not a static phenomenon, nor is the present day field landscape a spontaneous creation. It has evolved gradually over a period of time, each phase being closely related to, and in fact, the product of, the then existing political conditions, land tenture system, technological know-how, the culture group and their *genre de vie*. As Nitz observed, 'it is, therefore, obvious that it is not only important to describe the various field patterns, but also, as far as possible, to trace the origin and evolution of the patterns in order to find out the socio-economic and political factors in operation at the time of the settlement.[14]

Such a study of the field landscape involves first securing from the village *patwari* in the *tahsil* or district headquarter the village map showing the field boundaries. Before proceeding to the field, it is important to first trace the field map and also note the number of each

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field. What is important at this stage is to secure access to all the unpublished records pertaining to the village under study. These are generally available with the *kanungo* at the district headquarter in a bundle known as the *basta* and indentified by the village *hadbast* number. This contains in addition to village maps showing the fields, their boundaries and identification numbers, prepared at different intervals of time, the *khasra khatauni* or the record of field ownership, the *khasra girdauri* or field-wise record of the land use, all documents and agreements pertaining to the village territory, and exchange, surrender in lieu of debt or otherwise, or acquisition of new fields, and the *sajra nasab* or genealogical tree for the individual settlement, which usually goes back to the founder of the village. While these records are fundamental to the study of the field pattern, they are also vital to the reconstruction of the evolution of the village territory and the field pattern. In reconstructing the evolution of the field landscape it becomes important to prepare a diagrammatic representation of the genealogical tree of the settlement under study with the help of the *sajra nasab* and the *malkiyatnama* or records of ownership wherein, in addition to the names of the owners of each field, the names of their fathers too are recorded. This helps in preparing backwards the genealogical tree to the very founder or founders of the settlement under study. As a next step, the present day ownership of the fields should be plotted on the latest available map showing the field boundaries. Subsequently, by retracing the generations with the help of the names of the fathers of the present owners, and a regrouping of the fields as per their present ownership to an earlier generation, the ownership landscape of the fields as it then existed is created. Simultaneously, on the map is revealed the distribution of the fields by their shape, size, distance from the settlement, and in the different land types. Thus, is recreated one phase in the evolution of the present field landscape. Similarly, maps pertaining to different periods and generations revealing the manner in which fields have been divided, subdivided and sometimes even regrouped, can be prepared. An analysis of these maps in the context of the existing land tenure system during that period shall help in the discovery of any underlying principles and cultural dictates in the division of fields among colatterals of a single generation, and the subdivisions of the fields down the line of generations, contributing to the evolution of the field pattern and the field landscape. The maps shall also reveal the gradual extension, if any, of the land under cultivation, reduction in the extent of area under *shamilat* or common land, and all changes in the shape and size of the fields. Thus, the present day field landscape as exists today becomes a key to the understanding of the processes of its evolution through time.

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On the ground, the type of field boundaries, the methods of irrigation used and the irrigation channels, the crops grown, any perceived divisions of the fields meaningful to the farmers alone, should all be closely observed as also information regarding them should be collected by interview.

Maps of the field should also be prepared according to thier size, in fact fields should be classed into different categories of size, and a map showing these related to the map showing the different land types should be carefully studied and analysed to discover the underlying relationship of the field size to the distance from the settlement and to the different land types.

At no stage should the evolution of the settlement and field landscapes be considered to be independent of each other. In fact, they are simultaneously operating processes, for generally a division of the extended family into its nuclear components alone initiates a division of the fields owned by that family, resulting in an increase both in the number of households within the settlement landscape and in the number of fields and perhaps a reduction in their size, within the field landscape.

The methodology, therefore, aims at a portrayal of the hierarchy of contents of the landscape. The Indian Village though an abstract entity, has in fact, been abstracted from reality.

Thus, the study of an individual settlement within the framework of Cultural Geography aims at formulating the concept of an Indian Village.

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11. Mikesell, M.W. (1978). 'Tradition and Innovation in Cultural Geography', Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 68, No. 1, pp. 1-16, ref. p. 4.

12. Kniffen, F.B. (1960). 'To Know the Land and Its People'. *Landscape,* Vol. 9, p. 22.

13. The ritual purity-pollution principle is applicable only to the Indian rural society which is fragmented along caste lines. In the traditional analysis we have the upper castes, *Dvijya* or the twice born and the lower castes, *Antyaj* or the once-born. This division is valid as per the Manusmriti and accordingly they must be placed at a social distance. Thus, in order to prevent the violation of the Purity Pollution Principle, whereby the upper castes lose their purity or become pulluted by

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associating with those belonging to the lower castes, in a settlement, the two have separate sectors or *muhallas* separated by the streets, which represent a symbolic distance. Mukerji, A.B. Technical Communication.

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SECTION-III

Philosophy

Surinder Pal .. Kashmir Śaivism : A Philosophical Approach

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KASHMIR ŚAIVISM : A PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH

Surinder Pal

Kashmir Śaivism, the religious system of Philosophy, is famous because of its monistic and non-dualistic standpoint. It is also known as : Pratyabhijñā, Spanda and Trika. The system is based on the 'Śiva-Sūtra' of Vasugupta, a contemporary of Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.) the then king of Kashmir. Abhinavagupta (10th century A.D.) the great expounder of Kashmir Śaivism, gave it a complete form through his works as did Śaṁkarācārya to Vedānta. 'Tantrāloka' is his voluminous work of this system.

The Ultimate Reality, in Kashmir Śaivism is Parama Śiva. He is pure consciousness (Caitanya)[1], the Ātman, that is the true and inner most Self (Ātma) in every-being. He has two aspects : Transcendental and Immanent.[2] He is both eternal and infinite. He is unrestricted stream of desire, i.e. free will and spontaneous flow of cognition and action.[3] He is, both, the material as well as the efficient cause of the universe. This view is much the same as the one sponsored by Advaita-Vedānta in relation to Saguṇa-Brahman.

The writers of Kashmir Śaivism explain the creation of the universe from and by Śiva (the Ultimate Reality). The world is seen as a reflection of Śiva (Ābhāsa). The creation theory of the Kashmir Śaivism is known as ābhāsavāda, i.e. the view which holds that the universe consists of appearances which are all real in the sense that they are of the ultimate reality. This concept of the Śaivism that all the worldly appearances are real is the same as 'Satkāryavāda' of Sāṁkhya philosophy.

The manifestation of the universe is affected through the power (Śakti) of Śiva. The power (Śakti) is the very nature (Svarūpa) of Śiva.[4] The Śaivite holds the view that the absolute might be described as either Parā-Śakti or Parama-Śiva. It depends upon individual taste and temper, those who worship reality in the form of male call it Parama-Śiva and those who worship it as female call it Parā-Śakti[5]. Śakti has, indeed, an infinite number of aspects or modes,[6] of which five are most fundamental and primary ones.[7] They are :

(1) Cit Śakti : the power of revelation by which the supreme shines by himself. In this aspect the Supreme is known as Siva.

(2) Ānada-Śakti : the power of independence (Svatantrya) by which the Supreme is able to do anything without any extraneous aid. In this aspect, the Supreme is known as Śakti.

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(3) Icchā Śakti : the will to do this or that, i.e. to create. In this aspect, the Supreme is known as Sadāśiva.

(4) Jñāna Śakti : the power of knowledge by virtue of which the objects are brought together in conciousness. In this aspect, the Supreme is known as Īśvara.

(5) Kriyā Śakti : which is responsible for the actual manifestation of objects and their relations. In this aspect, the Supreme is known as Sadvidyā.

By these powers, the Supreme Śiva in his aspect of Śakti manifests himself as the universe by his free will.[8]

Kashmir Śaivism accepts thirty-six principles (tattvas) of creation. The highest of these is Śiva tattva and the lowest is the earth *(Pṛthvī).*[9] These principles of objective reality are treated simply as manifestations (abhāsas). A tattva is a division in the general classification of the constituents of which diverse objects of the world are made. Every such division (tattva) is marked by certain characteristics peculiar to it. It appears to be undivided (ekam-avibhaktam bhāti) in the various groups of objects, for example, the mountain, tree, city etc. All of which are, in their essential nature, constituents of earth, e.g. the river, lake and sea, constitute of water.[10] It is known by one name to distinguish it from the other constituent tattvas. These tattvas do not, however, remain isolated, they are all pervasive. Everything is a combination of the constituent tattvas. We call this world earthly (pārthiva) not because it is made up of earth alone, but because earth is its chief constituent.[11]

Amongst the thirty-six tattvas, the twenty-five lower categories (tattvas) from Puruṣa to earth (Pṛthivī), resemble the Sāṁkhya categories. The remaining eleven are accepted only in Śaivism. All the categories have been classified into two groups, viz. pure order of creation and impure order of creation.[12] The first five categories represent the sphere of the pure order of creation because they are manifested directly by Śiva himself. The remaining thirty-one categories represent the impure order of creation because they depend upon the instrumentality of the power of differenciation (Māyā).

The first category of the pure order of creation is Śiva. It is the state of experience of pure, 'I'. The subjects who belong to this state are called Śāmbhavas. The Śakti tattva is the second category. It is the state of experience of 'I am'. The subjects who belong to this state are called Śāktajas. The third category is Sadāsiva or Sādākhya tattva. The experience at the level of Sadāśiva tattva assumes the form 'I am this'. The subject who belongs to this state is called Mantra Maheśvara. The

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fourth category is Īsvara tattva. The experience to this state assumes the form 'This I am'. This category implies 'opening out' (bahir-unmeṣa) in the form of external manifestation while Sadāśiva tattva represents the 'closing in' (nimeṣa)[13] i.e., in which the world dissolves. The fifth category of the pure order of creation is Sadvidyā tattva. Here the subjective and the objective consciousness becomes equally manifested and the experience takes the form 'I am this'.[14] It is different from Sadāśiva tattva because there the subjective experience is predominant.

The sixth category is Māyā tattva. It is the sixth category in number but the first of the impure order of the creation. It differentiates objects from subjects. It veils the pure-consciousness (cinmātra-bhaga), so as to produce the various ābhāsas of objects. It is, also, defined as veiling power, vimohini-Śakti, as it causes delusion (moha)[15] by which one arrogates Śarīra, Prāṇa, Buddhi or Śūnya to one's self. It also produces the five cloaks (Kañcukas). Being the offshoots of Māyā, they cause limitation to the universality of art, knowledge, interest, place and time respectively in relation to various perceivers (jīvas). These five cloaks are also considered as categories in Śaivism.

The next, twelfth, category is called Puruṣa. tattva. The soul which is enveloped in the above said five cloacks (Kañcukas) is Puruṣa.[16] The limited perceiver (Puruṣa) is the same as the Puruṣa of Sāṁkhya philosophy. The difference which is noted here, is only this that Kashmir Śaivsim believes that Puruṣas are the manifestations of the same Ultimate Reality. Sāṁkhya, however, takes them as independent entities. The Prakṛti, thirteenth category, is the first purely objective (vedyamātra) effect of the Kalā.[17] It is a state of equilibrium of three guṇas—sattva, rajas and tamas. Prakṛti is as countless as the Puruṣa because each has a separate prakṛti. The difference about prakṛti which is noted in Sāṁkhya system and Śaivism is this that the former admits that it is independent in its action while the latter, Kashmir Śaivism, believes that it works only when it is stirred to activity by Ananta.[18] The former admits it one, the latter believes in its plurality according to puruṣas.

The next three categories are : (14) Buddhi (intellect), (15) Ahaṁkāra (egoity), and (16) Manas (mind). The Guṇas; sattva; rajas and tamas predominate respectively to the group of these three categories.[19] These categories are produced from one another in order.

The remaining categories are the five sense organs called Jñānendriyas, viz.; (16) Ghrāṇendriya (the power of smelling), (18)

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Rasanendriya (the power of tasting) (19) Cakṣurindriya (the power of seeing), (20) Sparśanendriya (the power of feeling-by-touch), (21) Śravaṇendriya (the power of hearing). The next five capacities of activity are called Karmendriyas, viz. (22) Upasthendriya (the capacity of resting and enjoying passivity) (23) Pāyvindriya (the capacity of discarding) (24) Pādendriya (Locomotion) (25) Hastendriya (Handling), (26) Vākendriya (Voicing). The five subtle elements are called Tanmātrās, viz. (27) Gandha (smell) (28) Rasa (taste) (28) Rūpa (form or colour) (30) Sparśa (touch) (31) Śabda (sound). The five gross elements which arise from the subtle elements (tanmātras) respectively are (36) Pṛthvī (Earth) (35) Jala (Water) (34) Agni (Light) (36) Vāyu (Air) (32) Ākāśa (Ether).

The aim of Kashmir Śaivism is to help the individual in attaining self-realization. This is only possible when the veil of ignorance is removed.[20] As bondage is the result of ignorance, release is to be attained through knowledge. The knowledge which liberates however, is not mere intellectual awareness; awareness, it is spiritual intuition of the fundamental unity. The intuition is gained by dīkṣā (initiation). It is rather an act whereby spiritual knowledge is imparted and the bondage of innate ignorance is removed.[21] It is note-worthy, here, that though dīkṣā is helpful to remove ignorance but it is not indespensable for Liberation (Mokṣa).

Kashmir Śaivsim believes that individuality and everything else being essentially a manifestation of Māyā, unilluminative like darkness, cannot be a means to the knowledge of pure-luminosity. Śaktipāta (divine grace), therefore, is only the cause of self-realisations. The Absolute is spontaneously realized by that individual on whom the higher grace of God has fallen. Here the individual efforts do not play any part. It is independent of human actions[22]. and any cause. Upaniṣads also are in agreement with principle of independent Śakipāta[23]. Without it a person can never think about self-realization. Thus it is obvious that only those persons are get freed from bondage to whom God wants to free.

Liberation (Mokṣa) according to this system, is nothing but the mere realization of one's hidden powers.[24] It is the realization of the Self, the Supreme consciousness, which is beyond the reach of both thought and language and is the ultimate source not only of both of them but also of all that they imply or involve. The state of liberation is achieved not merely by the pursuit of intellectual knowledge, but also by practising the various spiritual methods of yogic meditation and intution (Śamāveśa, as described in the Śaiva-Śāstra. It prescribes the four methods for liberation, viz., Anupāya, Śāmbhavopāya, Śāktopāya and Āṇavopāya. All these upāyas (means to liberation) do not directly

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lead to self-realisation. Anupāya is only a direct means of liberation.[25] Among the means; Āṇava, Śākta, Śāmbhava and Anupāya, the preceeding one leads to the succeeding one.

Āṇavapāya is followed by those who live mostly in dual consciousness. It is also called Kriyopāya because the path which is followed by such individuals is essentially a path of action. At the next stage which is called Śāktopāya, or jñānopāya, the aspirant makes repeated attempts to rise from a dualistic outlook to the knowledge of unity. At the third stage which is called Śāmbhavopāya, the knowledge of ultimate reality arises through mere exercise of the will. It is also called icchopāya. The last stage in the journey is Anupāya. It is the path wherein very little efforts is made. As the experience of Bliss is predominant in it, it is also called as Ānandopāya. It is the highest state of Śāmbhavopāya. The upāyas are also called Samāveśa, which means merging of the individual self in the Absolute self.

Kashmir Śaivsim and Śamkara Vedānta, both are monistic in outlook. There are many points of accordance and difference with each-other systems. The points which are common in both the systems are these :

1) Both believe in the real existence of only the Absolute self in its transcendental and universal aspects.

2) Both consider that the real knowledge about the Absolute self is the means of liberation.

There are many other points common to both these schools and to all the religious philosophies of India.

The differences in both the systems are following :

(i) The evolution of Śaivsim has been inspired by Śaiva Tantras while Vedānta, draws its inspiration from Upaniṣadas.

(ii) The former regards universe as real while the latter regards that the universe is false.

(iii) The former believes that the highest reality (Śiva) as both self-illuminous as well as active at the same time while for Śaṁkara the Highest Reality is self-illuminous but inactive.

(iv) The former advocates ābhāsavāda or pratibimba-vāda while the latter believes in Vivaratavāda.

There are so many other parts of differences in both the systems which prepare us to say that the monistic standpoint of Kashmir Śaivism is more satisfactory than Śaṅkara Vedānta.

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Conclusive Remarks :

The above study of Kashmir Śaivism gives the central idea and peculiarity of this system with Sāṁkhya and Vedānta systems of Indian philosophy. The development of this system has been mainly influenced by the Sāṁkhya philosophy as well as it has also been influenced by the Śaṁkāra Vedānta. It was but natural because the system of Śaṅkara Vedānta took its systematic form before the systematic formation of Kashmir Śaivism. Moreover, both the systems advocate absolute monism. It will be interesting to note that various attempts have been made by thinkers of Indian Philosophy to analyse the fundamental principles which are at work in the creation of the universe. Initially, twenty-five principles of creation are enumerated by the Śāṁkhya school which are entirely incorporated in the Śaiva schools with minor variations. At last, I will venture to say that though other schools of Indian philosophy have influenced the Kashmir Śaivism even then it does not lose its peculiarity. This peculiarity, now-a-days, is the need of India and of the world in general because all its doctrines—spiritual, epistemical, ethical and moral—have directly a practical bearing upon human interests.

NOTES

1. Śiva-Sūtra, 1.1
2. Pratyabhijñā Hṛdayam, Sanskrit Vṛtti of Sūtra 3.
3. Śiva Dṛṣṭi, 1.2.
4. Śiva Dṛṣṭi, iii, 2, 3.
5. Kaviraj Gopinath, Bhartiya Sanskriti aur Sadhana, page 17.
6. Abhinavagupta, Tantrasāra, page 28 (1918).
7. Ibid., Āhnika 1, page 6.
8. Kṣemarāja, Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam, Kārikā 2.
9. Bhāskarī, volume ii, page 211.
10. Īśvarapratyabhijñā-Vimarśinī, ii. 192.
11. Pandey, K.C. Abhinavagupta, A Historical and Philosophical Study, page 234, Cf., Tantrāloka vi, 3.
12. Tantrāloka, Āhnika, ix, page 55.
13. Īśvara Pratyabhijñā vimarśinī, IV. 1-2.
14. *Ibid.*, IV, 36.
15. *Ibid.*, I, 2 (Bhāskarī), page 58.

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16. Tantrāloka; ix, 204 page 164.
17. *Ibid.*; ix. 214. page 171.
18. *Ibid.*, ix. 225. page 180.
19. *Ibid.*, ix. 233. page 186.
20. The term 'Mala' is used for ignorance in this system. The limited perceiver possesses three malas called (i) Ānavamala, (ii) Kārmamala and (iii) Māyīya-mala. Āṇavamala, is that impurity which conceals the active and cognitive powers of the self and thus makes Him limited in nature. It is the root cause of the bondage. The impurities which reduce the powers of action and knowledge of the absolute are known here, as Kārmamala and Māyīyamala respectively.
21. Tantralakail, 80.
22. Īśvara Pratyabhijñā Vimarśinī, T.1.1.
23. Mālinī-Vijaya-Vārtika, 1.688.
24. Paramārtha-Sāra; 60.
25. Tantrāloka, 1.203, 255-6.

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SECTION-IV

History & Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology

Devendra Handa	..	Images of Revanta From Haryana.
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IMAGES OF REVANTA FROM HARYANA

Devendra Handa

Revanta, the son of Sūrya and Saṅjñā and the lord of the Guhyakas, is one of the lesser known but important deities of Hinduism. The myth of his birth is narrated at some length in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*.[1] It is said that Saṅjñā,[2] the daughter of Viśvakarmā, bore to her spouse Sūrya three children—Manu (Vaivasvata), Yama and Yamī (Yamunā). However, being unable to endure the refulgence of her husband, she left her Chhāyā (literally meaning shadow, reflection) as his handmaid and herself repaired to the forests to practise devout austerities. The Sun mistook Chhāyā to be his wife and begot by her three more children—Śanaiśchara (Saturn), another Manu (Sāvarṇī) and Tapatī (the Tapati river). Once being offended with Yama, Chhāyā denounced an imprecation upon him whereby Yama and Sūrya could know that she is not actual Saṅjñā. Then having been informed by Chhāyā that Saṅjñā had gone to the forests, the Sun saw Saṅjñā through his mental eyes as engaged in austerities in the form of a mare. Metamorphosing himself into a horse the Sun rejoined her and begot three more children—the two Aśvins and Revanta, and then brought her back to his own place.[3] The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* also narrates this story though some of the details differ.[4]

The fact that the Vedic literature, the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* and the *Narasiṁha Purāṇa* give detailed descriptions of Sūrya and his family but do not mention Revanta clearly indicates that this deity is a later creation.[5] Sahai opines that "Probably when the horses became the most important element of war in the first few centuries of the christian era, the worship of Revanta became popular."[6] Early literary references to Revanta may be found in the *Agni*[7] and *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*[8] and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*.[9] All these texts may be ascribed to the Gupta and late Gupta periods and it is interesting to note that the earliest image of Revanta discovered so far also belongs to the 5th-6th century A.D.[10]

While the *Agni Purāṇa* refers to Revanta as 'a horseman', the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* describes him as riding on horseback with attendants in the sport of hunting.[11] The *Vishṇudharmottara*[12] and *Bhavishya Purāṇa*[13] as also the *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*[14] emphasise his likeness to Sūrya. The god finds mention in the *Skanda Purāṇa*,[15] Kālikā Purāṇa,[16] Kuvalayamālā Kathā,[17] Jayānaka's *Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya*,[18] *Śabda-Kalpa-druma*, Kalpataru and various medieval epigraphs.[19].

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Revanta's images have been found from various parts of the country and have systematically been studied by B.N. Sharma.[20] The break up of the 43 images described and illustrated by him is as follows : Rajasthan 13, U.P. 10, Bihar 6, M.P. 6, Gujarat 2, Haryana 1, Bengal 1, Orissa 1, Bangladesh 1, Maharashtra 1 and South India 1. Thus his worship seems to have been popular from Rajasthan and Gujarat in the west to Bangladesh in the east. Epigraphs indicate that Revanta had a following in the Deccan and South India also except Tamil Nadu but the evidence of his worship north of Haryana is still wanting. Chronological considerations show that the worship of Revanta has been popular in Rajasthan, M.P., Bihar and U.P. from the Gupta period onwards and these states account for 33 images of the deity out of 43 mentioned above. In other parts, which together have yielded only nine images, the worship of Revanta started in or after the 10th century A.D. 33 images belong to the early medieval period (7th-12th century A.D.), 6 are earlier and 4 later. However, recent discoveries show that Haryana too was a part of the nucleus zone of the worship of Revanta though it started there a bit later than Rajasthan, U.P., Bihar etc.

A fragmentary relief from Gujjar Kheri, located at a distance of about 25 kms. north of Sonipat on Ganaur-Ahulana road, shows a badly mutilated figure of an equestrian to right with a full blown lotus gloriole behind the head (Fig. 1).[21] Made of buff sandstone and measuring 26x25 cms. in its extant form, the relief represents Revanta on horseback with an attendant holding the shaft of an umbrella which canopied the head of the deity. It is significant to note that most of the images of the god found from various parts of India show this feature.[22] Unfortunately the head of the god, both his hands, the legs of the horse, the head of the *Chhatra-dhara* and the upper part of the halo are irretrievably lost. There are traces of a female figure holding a pot of wine standing in front of the horse. Revanta is generally shown holding a wine-cup in one of his hands and even in this case he may have been originally depicted as holding one in his right hand. The left hand probably held the reins of the horse. The image, to judge from the style of the surviving parts, may have belonged to *circa* eighth century A.D.

Thanesar (Kurukshetra) has also yielded a badly broken panel showing the equestrian figures of Piṅgala and Daṇḍa, preceding and following the central figure of Revanta, completely lost in the extant relief, moving to left hunting and trampling boars and deer with the help of a dog. The presence of a round lotus-petalled *prabhāmaṇḍala* and an attendant holding the shaft of the *chhatra* certainly indicate the central figure to have been that of Revanta. There are some other

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subsidiary figures also but they are mutilated beyond proper identification. This is a buff sandstone panel measuring 84 x 67 cms. assignable to *circa* 8th-9th century A.D.[23]

A worn out fragmentary relief of Revanta has been recovered from the Hanumān Temple of Chandimandir cantonment area near Chandigarh (Fig 2).[24] Made of grey sandstone, it measures 46 x 36 cms. and shows the horse-riding Revanta being canopied by an attendant. A female figure, probably with a wine-pot, is also shown in the panel. The head of the attendant, the right leg of the god and the mouth of the steed are mutilated. This surviving part of the panel seems to be the central part of the relief which is broken on both sides. It is not in a good state of preservation and the details of even the extant figures cannot be made out precisely. On stylistic grounds, it may be dated to *circa* tenth century A.D.

Rāma Mandira in the same Chandimandir cantoment area has yielded a 30 x 20 cms. greenish sandstone broken image of Piṅgala, the acolyte of Revanta (Fig. 3), seated on horseback, holding a pen in his right hand. His left hand, now mutilated, may have held the leaf for writing. Piṅgala wears a typical conical hat reminiscent of his Iranian association, large circular earrings, necklet, *avyaṅga* and bracelets. The caparisoned horse on which he sits is retrorse. The panel is broken below the waist of Piṅgala.[25] Stylistically it may have preceded the image recovered from the Hanumān Temple, Chandimandir by about a century.

The best preserved panel depicting Revanta is now fixed in the wall of the Brāhmaṇa *dharmaśālā* in the middle of the village of Kanwari, located about 26 kms. south of Hisar on road to Tosham. It is a buff sandstone panel measuring about 23 x 20 cms. (Fig. 4) [26]. On the central projection of the *triratha* pedestal is shown Revanta wearing a cylindrical crown, earrings, pearl necklace, bracelets, *dhotī* and boots, seated on a caparisoned horse, holding the reins in his left hand and a cup in his right. The hind left leg of the steed is trampling a boar. An attendant behind holds an umbrella over the god's head. Revanta is preceded by Piṅgala who is turning backwards as if talking to or looking at Revanta. He wears a high beaded conical cap, ear ornaments, *ekāvalī* and undergarment. Both his hands are partly damaged. The horse, as usual, is caparisoned and trampling a boar under its hind left foot. An unidentifiable male head is visible behind and above the head of Piṅgala's steed and a female head, probably the wine-pot bearer, between Revanta and Piṅgala. Revanta is followed by Daṇḍa who holds a staff in his right hand and the reins of the horse in his left hand. The

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horse tramples a deer. Stylistically, the relief may be assigned to circa tenth century A.D.

In 1974, we had discovered the first relief of Revanta from Pehowa, 25 kms. west of Kurukshetra.[27] It showed Revanta and Piṅgala as usual but Daṇḍa was missing. Subsequently, however, we have discovered the detached panel depicting Daṇḍa also (Fig. 5).[28] The image is datable to the Tomara period, *circa* 12th century A.D.

There is another buff sandstone panel, 15.5 x 10 cms., discovered from Prāchī Śiva Temple, Pehowa[29] which shows an equestrian figure on an architectural piece and may represent Revanta. It may be dated to *circa* 10th century A.D.

We thus see that Haryana has yielded about half a dozen images of Revanta—two from Chandimandir, two from Pehowa (one piece being doubtful), one each from Thanesar, Gujjar Kheri and Kanwari. Considering the small size of the state it is a considerable number. While Thanesar (Kurukshetra) and Pehowa are ancient holy places, Gujjar Kheri was one of the great centres of art.[30] Pehowa was also a famous trade-centre for horses during the medieval period. It is also noteworthy that all these places have yielded images of Sūrya.[31] Chandimandir may be said to be an extension of the well-known art-centre of Pinjaur which too has yielded images of Sun.

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* tells us that when Sūrya appointed Revanta to the lordship of the Guhyakas, he said that the latter will be worshipped by the whole world and that who shall call him to mind amid the terrors of forests and other lonely places, of great conflagrations, of enemies and robbers, shall be delivered out of great calamity. Sūrya also said that when worshipped and well satisfied, Revanta shall bestow on men comfort, intelligence, happiness, kingship, perfect health, renown and exalted position.[32] The *Skanda Purāṇa* says that a dedicated glance of the *Rājyabhaṭṭāraka* Revanta seated on horseback will free one from all evils and bestow upon him religious merit.[33] Uddyotana Sūri[34] tells us that Revanta delivers people from the terrors of forests and other lonely places, of great conflagration, of enemies and robbers and bestows upon his worshippers comfort, intelligence, happiness, kingship, robust health, renown and exalted positon. It, thus repeats Sūrya's benediction to his son as narrated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, *Śabda-kalpa-druma* enjoins upon kings or generals desirous of victory to worship Revanta.[35]

The sites which have yielded images of Revanta in Haryana were not the capital cities of any kings at the period when these images were carved. B.N. Sharma had observed that since Revanta was the

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divine master of the horses, his worship was specially done for the protection and care of one's own horses.[36] But for Pehowa, none of the above-mentioned sites is connected with horses though the possession of horses at these places by individuals cannot be denied. A generalisation of B.N. Sharma's observation, however, would lead us to expect images of Revanta at most other places. It seems that people worshipped Revanta for protection against certain dangers and for certain gains as described in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and the *Kuvalayamālā Kathā*. This worship, it is to be noted, was not independent but an adjunct of the worship of Sun as all the images described above do not seem to have been independent images but the subsidiary ones.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (Gita Press ed.), III. 2, 2-8 :

सूर्यस्य पत्नी संज्ञाभूत्तनया विश्वकर्मणः । मनुर्यमो यमी चैव तदपत्यानि वै मुने ।।
असहन्ती तु सा भर्तुस्तेजश्छायां युयोज वै । भर्तृशुश्रूषणेऽरण्यं स्वयं च तपसे ययौ ।।
संज्ञेयमित्यथार्कश्च छायायामात्मजत्रयम् । शनैश्चरं मनुं चान्यं तपती चाप्यजीजनत् ।।
छायासंज्ञा ददौ शापं यमाय कुपिता यदा । तदान्येयमसौ वुद्धेरित्यासीयमसूर्ययोः ।।
ततो विवस्वानाख्याते तयैवारण्यसंस्थितः । समाधिदृष्ट्या ददृशे तामश्वां तपसि स्थिताम् ।।
वाजिरूपधरः सोऽथ तस्यां देवावधारयत् । जनयामास रैवन्तं रेतसोऽन्ते च भास्करः ।।
ज्ञात्वान्ये च पुनः संज्ञां स्वस्थानं भगवान्विभः । तेजसस्तमनं चास्य विश्वकर्मा चकार ह ।।

2. She is named as Sureṇu and Suraṇyu also. See Bhagwant Sahai, *Iconography of Some Important Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities*, New Delhi, 1975, p. 89.

3. Viśvakarmā is said to have then reduced the splendour of the Sun by one-eighth by putting him on the sharpening wheel and created Vishṇu's wheel, Śaṅkara's trident, Kubera's chariot, Kārttikeya's *śakti* etc. with the Sun's splendour which fell down on the earth—

भ्रमयारोप्य सूर्यं तु तस्य तेजोनिशातनम् । कृतवानष्टमं भागं स व्यशातयदव्ययम् ।।
यत्तत्साद्भुष्णवं तेजश्शातितं विश्वकर्मणा । जाज्वल्यमानमपतत्तद्भूमौ मुनिसत्तम ।।
त्वष्टैव तेजसा तेन विष्णोश्चक्रमकल्पयत् । त्रिशूलं चैव शर्वस्य शिबिकां धनदस्य च ।।
शक्तिं गुह्यस्य देवानामन्येषां च यदायुधम् । तत्सर्वं तेजसा तेन विश्वकर्मा व्यवर्धयत् ।।

Vishṇu Purāṇa, III. 2, 9-12.

4. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī Steam Press, Calcutta, Śaka 1812), Ch. 109, vv. 5-11 :

इति शातिततेजाः स शुशुभे नातितेजसा । वपुर्दधार मार्त्तण्डः सर्व्वावयवशोभनम् ।।
स ददर्श समाधिस्थः स्वां भार्य्यां वडवाकृतिम् । अधृष्यां सर्व्वभूतानां तपसा नियमेन च ।।
उत्तरांश्चकुरून् गत्वा भूत्वाऽश्वो भानुरागमत् । सा च दृष्ट्वा तमायान्तं परपुंसो विशङ्कया ।।
जगाम सम्मुखं तस्यपृष्ठरक्षणतत्परा । ततश्च नासिकायोगं तयोस्तत्र समेतयोः ।।
वडवायाश्च ततू तेजो नासिकाभ्यां विवस्वतः । दैवौ तत्र समुत्पन्नावाश्विनौ भिषजां वरौ ।।
नासत्यदस्रौ तनयावश्ववत्त्वादिनिर्गतौ । मार्त्तण्डस्य सुतावेतावश्वरूपधरस्य हि ।।
रेतसोऽन्ते च रैवन्तः खड्गी चर्म्मी तनुत्रभृक् । अश्ववारूढः समुद्भूतो बाण-तूणसमन्वितः ।।

5. B.N. Sharma, *Iconography of Revanta*, New Delhi, 1975, p. 26; Sahai, *loc. cit.*

6. Sahai, *loc. cit.*

7. See B.N. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

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8. *VDP*, III. 67, 9.
9. *BS* 57.56.
10. B.N. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
11. *BS* 57.56 : रेवन्तोऽश्वारूढो मृगयाक्रीडोपपरिवारः ।
12. *VDP*, III. 70, 5 : पृष्ठेऽश्वे सूर्यवत्कार्यो रेवन्तश्च तथा प्रभुः ।
13. *Bhavishya Purāṇa*, 79.78 : रेवन्तो नाम योऽकस्य स्पेषार्कसमः सुतः ।
14. Hemādri, *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi* (Calcutta, S. 1934) Vrata-khaṇḍa, p. 137 : पृष्ठयः सूर्यवत्कार्यो रेवन्तश्च तथा प्रभुः ।
15. *Skanda Purāṇa* (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1909). Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa, 164, 1-4.
16. *Kālikā Purāṇa*, 85, 46-49.
17. *Kuvalayamālā Kathā* (Bombay, 1959), p. 68.
18. Canto I.
19. For details see B.N. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-40.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-70 and Figs. 1-46.
21. It is now preserved in the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Haryana, Chandigarh (henceforth HARDAM) and bears Index No. 1/343. We are thankful to the Director of the said department for the photographs published here.
22. B.N. Sharma, *op. cit.*
23. S.P. Shukla, *Sculptures And Terracottas In The Archaeological Museum, Kurukshetra University*, Kurukshetra, 1983, p. 42, Pl. XXXV, 1.
24. Now preserved in HARDAM, Acc. No. 25/84.
25. It is also preserved in HARDAM, Acc. No. 13/84.
26. It was first brought to my notice by Shri Dhoop Singh (HARDAM).
27. Devendra Handa, "Hariyāṇā meṁ Revanta Pūjā," *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Kurukshetra, Vol. VI (1974), pp. 15-18; B.N. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49, Fig. 21.
28. Devendra Handa, "Some Interesting Sculptures From Pehowa," *Panjab University Research Bulletin (Arts)*, Chandigarh, Vol, XVI, No. 1 (April 1985), p. 130, Fig. 2.
29. HARDAM, Index No. 1/408.
30. Devendra Handa, "Some Unpublished Sculptures from Gujjar Kheri (Haryana)," *Panjab University Research Bulletin (Arts)*, Chandigarh, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (April 1986), pp. 107-21, Figs. 20.
31. Shukla, *op.cit.*, p. 42, Pl. XXXIV. 3 and p. 48, Pl. XL. 2 (Thanesar); Handa (1985), *op.cit.*, p. 8, Figs. 8-9. Sūrya images from Gujjar Kheri are still unpublished.
32. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ch. 105, vv. 20-23.
33. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa, Ch. 164, vv. 1-4.
34. *Kuvalayamālā Kathā*, Bombay, 1959, p. 68.
35. B.N. Sharma, *op.cit.*, p. 29.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

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Fig. 1. Revanta, Gujjar Kheri (District Sonipat)

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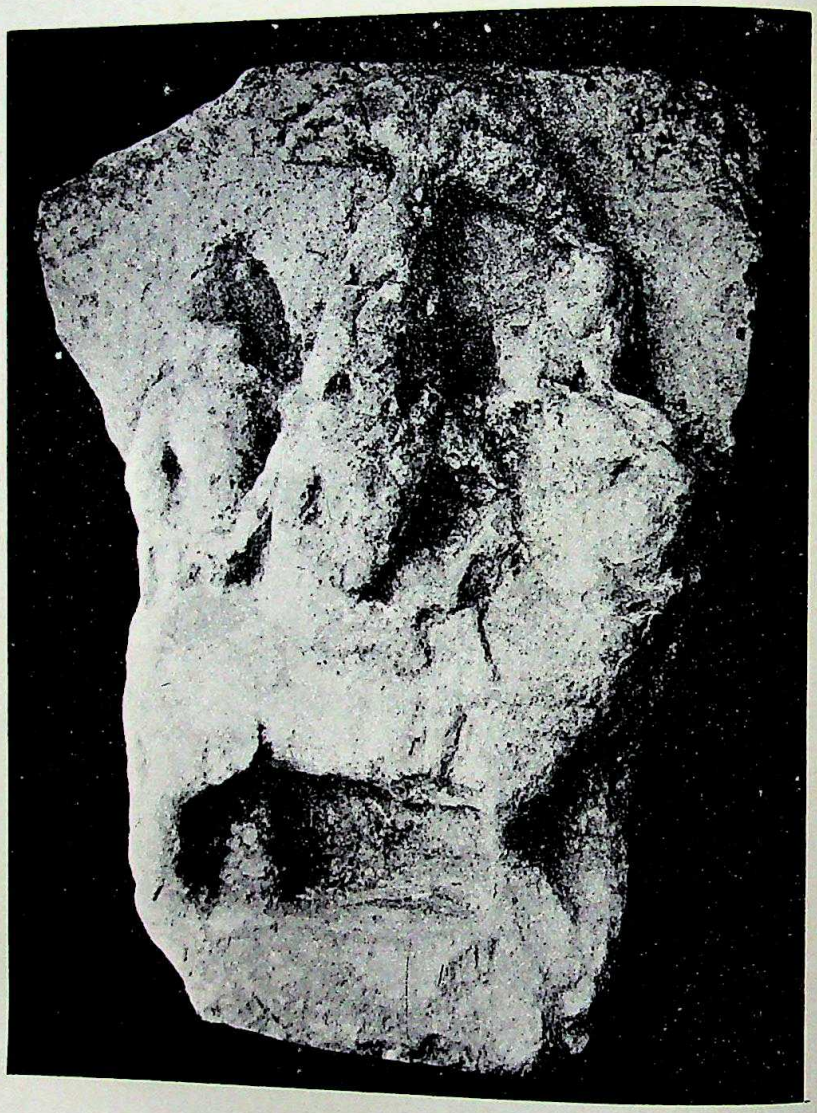

Fig. 2. Revanta, Hanumān Temple, Chandimandir (District Ambala)

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Fig. 3. Piṅgala, Cantonment area, Chandimandir (District Ambala)

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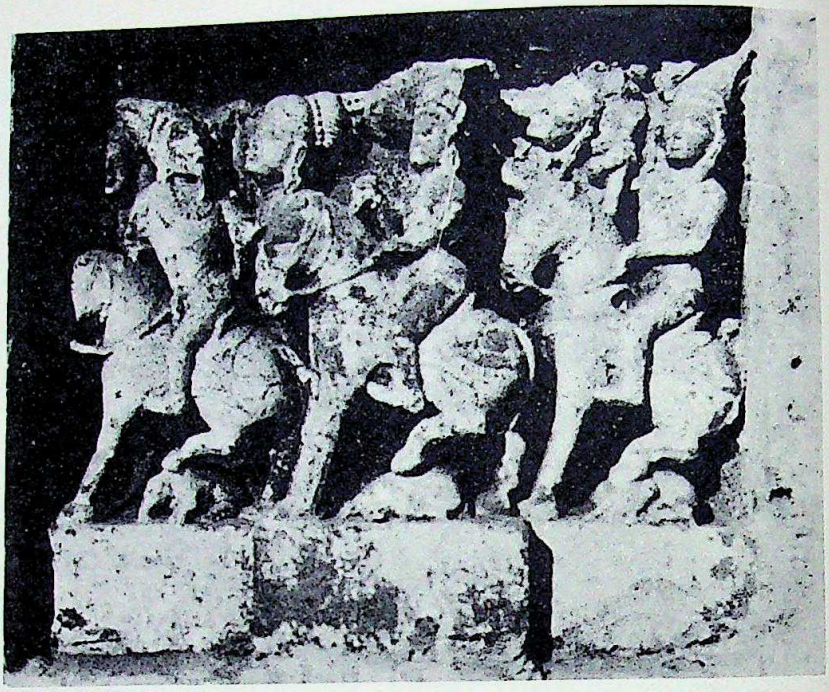

Fig. 4. Revanta with Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, Kanwari (District Hisar)

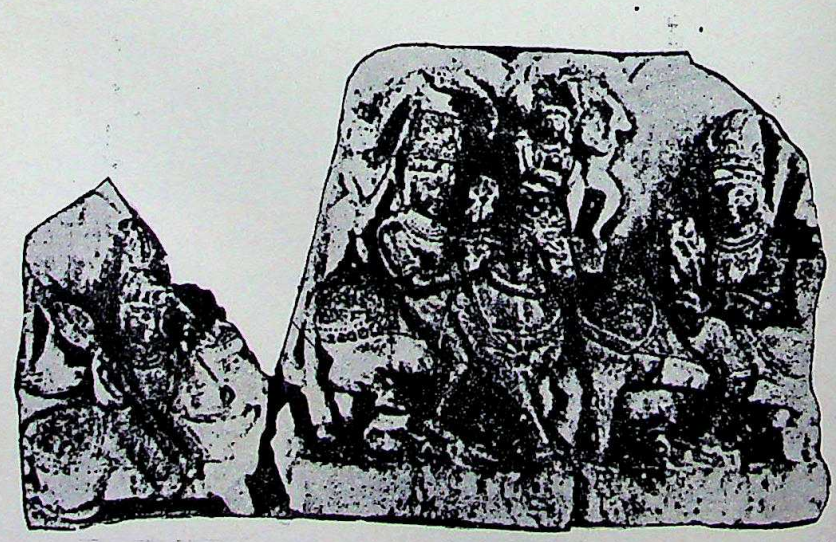

Fig. 5. Revanta with Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, Pehowa (District Kurukshetra)

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INDIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT — REMINISCENCES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVES

Amarjit Singh

The history of the Indian revolutionary movement adds a glorious and epoch making chapter to the history of the Indian freedom movement. Since the first war of independence in 1857 till 1930's the Indian revolutionaries waged an unceasing and dashing war against the British imperialism. During its long courses of struggle the movement gave birth to a galaxy of martyrs, heroes and ideologues. The dashing actions, heroic deeds and ideology of the revolutionaries won them a lasting place in the memory of the nation.

A band of the competant scholars have described in detail the nature, character, technique, ideology and extent of the revolutionary movement. To begin with the scene was dominated by autobiographies, reminiscences and memoirs written by revolutionaries who had active or peripheral acquaintance with the revolutionary movement. The writings of these revolutionaries supply much information regarding the history of the revolutionary movement and form a major part of the literature available. The present paper endeavours to make an analytical survey of the writings of these revolutionaries and to assess the historicity of these writings.

One of the earliest and foremost of these works is Sachindra Nath Sanyal's *BANDI-JEEVAN (HINDI)*[1]. The author narrates the activities of the revolutionaries since the Delhi conspiracy case (1912)[2] to that of the formation of the Hindustan Republican Association (1923). The author was a veteran revolutionary and the undisputed leader of the revolutionaries of North India during his time. He founded and organized the Hindustan Republican Association in 1923 with the co-operation and assistance of Jogesh Chander Chatterjee.[3] He was convicted in Banaras conspiracy case (1911) and Kakori Conspiracy case (1925) and was sentenced to life imprisonment.[4]

S.N. Sanyal's work was first published in Bengali (1922)[5], but soon after its publication was prescribed by the British Government.[6] However, the book was widely circulated, before being proscribed and it inspired many to join the revolutionary movement. It was regarded by the revolutionaries as their sacred literature.[7] The British Government believed that "S.N. Sanyal has sent more youngmen to the gallows or to the prison for terrorism than any man who has lived in India.[8]

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S.N. Sanyal has described in detail the activities of the Ghadarites in Punjab and paid glowing tributes to the patriotism of the sikhs. He has recorded, "In one of meetings when sikh masses were told that the revolutionaries were in financial crisis, they at once and without any hitch contributed and donated a huge amount of money in the form of gold coins and ornaments ---- I have never witnessed such kind of patriotism and generosity anywhere in the Bengal."[9]

One of the chief feature of the work is the critical assessment of the causes of the failures on the part of the Ghadarites in their attempt to raise an armed revolt in the Punjab. The author has not agreed with the general view that the Ghadarites failed because the masses were not properly and adequately educated.[10] He has argued that in Russia the revolution succeeded though majority of the people were uneducated.[11] He viewed that the Ghadarites failed to carry out their propaganda programme properly and in a clearer perspective which subsequently led to the collapse of their p' ın.[12]

S.N. Sanyal reveals that the ideology of the early revolutionaries was based upon the Hindu religion. The author was convinced that; One who was not in love and regard with the Indian culture and civilization was not capable to group the programme and ideology of the party and organization.[13]

Although the author has given a detailed account of his efforts to organize the Hindustan Republican Association in 1923,[14] but he is altogether silent about the activities of this organization. Surprisingly enough, he has not, even, given the details of the Kakori Train hold-up and the Kakori conspiracy case in which he himself was convicted. Nevertheless, notwithstanding such blemishes the work has been written in historical perspective.

V.D. Savarkar, a veteran revolutionary and one of the leaders of the Indian revolutionary movement based in England,[15] has written his memoirs in Marathi. At first his memoirs were published in Marathi in 1927 but the book was proscribed by the British in 1934.[16] Later the book was translated in Hindi entitled as, *MERA AAJEEVAN KARAVAS (HINDI).* V.D. Savarkar has written very little about the nature, character and extent of the revolutionary movement. A large portion of his memoirs deals with his own experiences in different jails which he has described in a romantic vein and anecdotal style. However, he has given a vivid account of the structure, organization and life in the famous cellular jail of the Andamans. At one place he has recorded, "My elder brother Ganesh Pant Savarkar was also detained in the same

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cellular jail but we have never met or even saw one-other because of the tight security and strict organization on the part of the jail authorities."[17]

Savarkar has condemned the attitude of the congress towards the revolutionary movement. He regretted that it was a sorry juncture that the congress considered the revolutionaries merely as terrorists.[18] He argued that whosoever makes an attempt to emancipate ones Mother-land, irrespective to the fact whether one adopts violent methods or non-violent methods, is a true patriot and nationalist.[19] The memoirs of Savarkar reveals that he had a staunch faith in Hinduism and he has also glorified the martyrdom of Ram Rakha, who had died in Andamans after a prolonged hunger strike while making a demand to preserve and maintain a symbol of his faith—Hinduism.[20]

Ram Prasad Bismil, hanged on December 19, 1927, in connection with Kakori conspiracy case,[21] wrote his memoirs in Hindi. It was published earlier as *Kakori Ka Shaheed* and now as *Bismil Ki Atma Katha*.[22] Written in a direct, simple and dispassionate style, this autobiography of Bismil, reveals every minute working of the revolutionary movement and the author has frankly accepted the drawbacks and lapses of their organization, "Our organizational structure and strategies were not properly formulated and chalked out, which subsequently led us to fiasco.[23]

The autobiography of Bismil reveals that the revolutionaries were neither terrorists nor inhuman but always held high the moral values. "It seemed immoral to us to plunder any individual and to sack private property. So we decided to loot Government property and to commit dacoities".[24] His writing further shows that the revolutionaries of this period were more idealist and sensitive patriots than realist and that is why that they were easily apprehended by the police. Sometimes they were betrayed by thier own men.[25] The following narration of Bismil present a vivid picture of blind patriotism.

I was expected to be arrested but I did not try to go underground ----- let me judge the sympathy of the people for us. I wanted to know that, upto what extent, the people of our country were helpful and sympathized towards us, for whom we were always ready to sacrifice our lives.[26]

Bismil criticised the revolutionaries of Bengal, and went to the extent of saying that the Bengal's revolutionaries were not true nationalist as they believed in regionalism.[27] It seems that his opinion about Bengal's revolutionaries was due to his personal conflict with S.N. Sanyal, who at that time was lodged in the jail along with him.[28] It

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is further corroborated from the writings of J.C. Chatterjee who has recorded that some misunderstandings cropped-up between Bismil and S.N. Sanyal, on the question that they should make an attempt or not, in order to escape from the jail.[29]

At the last stage of his life, while waiting for the gallows, Bismil might have lost faith in the revolutionary movement based on violence. It is evident from his advice, "It is my humble counsel to the youths of India that they should never participate in any revolutionary activity until and unless the majority of the Indians is not educated. In case if you desire to serve your Mother-land then you should participate in some other non-violent kind of movement, otherwise your sacrifice would go waste and will brings no fruits."[30] However, one of the associates of Bismil, M.N. Gupta, writes, "Apart from the malicious reference to Sanyal, the autobiography of Bismil amounts to a condemnation of the revolutionary movement and it was written in a repentent mood. [31]

J.N. Sanyal, one of the associates of Bhagat Singh, has written his memoirs, under the title, *Amar Shaheed Sardar Bhagat Singh.*[32] The book was published in 1931 but soon after its publication was proscribed by the British Indian Government.[33] The author was convicted in the Lahore conspiracy case. The author has given a brief account of the activities of the revolutionaries of Punjab from 1905 to 1919. However, he has given a detailed account of the revolutionary activities from 1926 to 1931, with special reference and emphasis on the activities and ideology of Bhagat Singh. The author views that it was Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha but not the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association which was the pioneer organization to work for and to dream of establishing a Socialist State in India.[34]

J.N. Sanyal has also given a vivid picture of the revolutionary movement in Bengal from 1906 to 1928. He remarks that from 1906 to 1928 the revolutionary movement in Bengal passed through three stages. In the first stage they were organized into small groups inspired with the spirit of supreme self-sacrifice, where methods approach was terrorist acts -------- in the second stage these groups got mixed together and formed larger organization, propaganda and work among the people were important items of their programme -------- the third stage in the history of the Bengal revolutionaries was wide, united and co-ordinated organization and mass-action.[35]

Although, a large number of the scholars have bitterly condemned the role of the congress in general, and that of Gandhi in particular, in making his efforts to commutate the death sentences of Bhagat Singh

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and his comrades, but, this author is of the view that Gandhi made some personal efforts to save the lives of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru from the gallows despite the fact that he was biased against the revolutionaries.[36] The author himself being a member of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, supplied some valuable information which the other scholars did not.[37] On the whole the work is an admirable and valuable one.

M.N. Gupta, one of the associates of Pandit Ram Prasad Bismil, has written his memoirs, under the caption, *They Lived Dangerously : Reminiscences of a Revolutionary*. He has written several other books on the history of the revolutionary movement.[38] M.N. Gupta has written his memoirs in nostalgic vein. However, he has also given a critical assessment of their movement.

The author hails the secular character of the revolutionary movement during the twenties and thirties.[39] He has discussed critically the nature and ideology of the movement. He argues that although the revolutionaries of this period freed the revolutionary movement from the religious shackels and gave it a socialist facelift but they did never completely discarded the religious nationalism of Vivekanand, Tilak, Aurobindo and Savarkar.[40]

The Congress, in general, and Gandhi in particular, used to condemn and discard the revolutionary movement by saying that it is not a mass-movement. M.N. Gupta, however, has given a different and clear-cut definition and strategy of their movement, "It is true that we will not drag the masses just now in the field of action, because we know that it is weak, but when the preparation is complete we shall call them in the open field ----- besides we have been constantly preaching that the masses are not for the revolution but the revolution is for the masses."[41] In addition to all this details the author has also given a vivid description of his experiences in different prisons.

The writings of Bhagat Singh throw ample light on the nature, character and ideology of the revolutionary movement in the twenties and thirties. Though it is unfortunate that the manuscripts of all the books which Bhagat Singh wrote while in Jail have been destroyed.[42] But there are few articles,[43] his letters and the record of his statements in the court which help us to know about his ideology and the nature of the revolutionary movement in his times.

The works of Bhagat Singh reveal that the revolutionaries of that age were not merely terrorists but they were the true revolutionaries. In his message to the young political workers, Bhagat Singh has written, "Apparently I have acted like a terrorist but I am not a

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terrorist. I am a revolutionary who has got some definite ideas of a lengthy programme. Let me announce with all the strength at my command, that I am not a terrorist and I never was, except perhaps in the beginning of my revolutionary career. And I am convinced that we cannot gain anything through these methods."[44] Bhagat Singh further elaborates, "The military department of the party should always keep ready all the war materials it can command for any emergency. It should back the political work of the party. It cannot and should not work independently."[45]

The writings of Bhagat Singh further reveal that although the revolutionaries were convinced that the revolution should not be based upon the cult of bomb but at the same time they did not shun the necessary violence. "The new generation of revolutionaries had replaced the romance of violent methods alone which was so prominent amongst our predecessors and had come to believe that the use of force was justifiable when resorted to as a matter of terrible necessity while non-violence as policy was indispenable for all mass-movements."[46] The revolutionaries of twenties and thirties were not blind patriots but they were critical revolutionaries in the true sense of Marx and Lenin. Bhagat Singh while asking his comrades to read, *The Dreamland,* warns them, "Do not read it to follow blindly and take for granted what is written in it. Read it, criticise it, think over it and try to formulate your own ideas with its help."[47]

It is quite obvious from the writings of Bhagat Singh that they were waging a war against the British imperialism not only to obtain complete political freedom but they wanted to transform the whole society through revolution. In a joint statement with B.K. Dutt he stated in the court, "Revolution is not the cult of bomb and pistol. By revolution we mean that the present order which is based on manifest injustice, must change. By revolution we mean the ultimate establishment of an order of society which may not be threatened by such social breakdowns and in which the sovereignty of the proletariat shall be recognized and as a result of which a world federation should redeem humanity from the bondange of capitalism and misery of wars."[48]

Yashpal, an active member of the HSRA, has written his memoirs under the caption, *Singhavalokan (Hindi).* Yashpal, who was a close associate of Bhagat Singh and Azad, was arrested on January 22, 1932 and was sentenced for 14 years of imprisonment.[49] He has given a detailed account of the revolutionary movement from 1921 to 1933. Written with patriotic and nationalistic fervor, the memoirs of Yashpal presents a colourful picture of the heroic deeds and fearless actions of the revolutionaries. He remarks, we fought consistently from the very

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beginning for complete national sovereignty and democratic freedom for India's people and never budged from that aim.[50] The revolutionaries were patriots to the core of their heart and it is evident said he : The congress had just one grievance against the Simon Commission that after making so many requests and submitting petitions the British Government did not nominate even a single person from the congress as its member (Commission), but the revolutionaries stated that the British Government had no right to decide the fate of the Indians and who empowered them to appoint a commission.[51]

The author emphasis that they were not terrorists but revolutionaries in real sense. "There is a difference between a revolutionary and a terrorist. The British Government deliberately ignored this distinction."[52] In fact a terrorist is one who just feel pleasure in the acts of violence and plunder. He is a saddist. But, contrary to it, a revolutionary adopts the path of violence only as a mean of retaliation. He further elaborates that they were not blind patriots but theirs was a progressive and scientific movement which was based upon well defined ideology and well formulate policies.[53]

He has given details of every minute activity of the revolutionaries. However, he has generally exaggerated his role in the movement. At one place he remarks that Azad failed to convince Nehru about the ideology and programme of their party since he was not well versed in English conversation and that later author was appointed by Azad to see Nehru and to convicve him about the ideology, nature and working of their organisation.[54] But this version of Yashpal has been contested by M.N. Gupta.[55] In fact Azad failed to convince Nehru about the ideology and working of their party because Nehru was always against any kind of violent movement.[56] yet at one other place Yashpal has mentioned that after the martyrdom of Azad he recognized the whole party.[57] But no other authority has supported this statement of Yashpal.

However, one of the remarkable feature of Yashpal's work is the description of the internal structure of the HSRA and the details of the conflict between the members of the HSRA. He is, probably, the only authority to discuss in detail that the internal troubles of the HSRA subsequently led to the division of the party. "At last Azad decided to dissolve the organization ---- Azad distributed the arms and ammunitions equally among the groups of Bihar, United Provinces, Punjab, Delhi, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh."[58]

Shiv Verma, one of the close associates of Bhagat Singh and others, has also written his memoirs in the form of short life sketches of a few

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revolutionaries. The caption of his work is, *Sansmarityan (Hindi)*. He has paid glowing tributes to the sacrifices of the revolutionaries. He remarks, "A number of known and unknown revolutionaries have laid down their lives on the altar of the freedom of our motherland. It is all because of their heroic and selfless sacrifies that we have achieved our freedom."[59]

J.C. Chatterjee's *In Search of Freedom,* deals with the history of the revolutionary movement in India in the twentieth century. J.C. Chatterjee, a veteran revolutionary, was convicted in Kakori conspiracy case and was sentenced to life imprisonment.[60] Written in a simple and direct style a large portion of his memoirs deals with his own experiences in different prisons. In addition to the history of the revolutionary movement the author has also given a few biographical sketches of his associates.[61]

The author tells us that the revolutionary movement was completely secular in its character and composition. He remarked, "The revolutionary brotherhood have reached a stage where there was no caste or even religion, no untouchability or even separate identity."[62] The British Government on her part made a futile attempt to create rift and communal feelings among the revolutionaries,"Divide and rule was the general policy of Britain in India and they followed it even in their dealings with the revolutionaries. But the revolutionaries were far above these things."[63] The author says that the revolutionaries preferred to embrace death than to betray. "Success, they knew was remote and sufferings and sacrifices were their constant companions."[64]

The author regrets that the Congress was always indifferent and biased against the revolutionaries. He remarked, "The heroes, who took part in the retaliation of the murder of the national leader, Lajpat Rai, were hanged, multilated and burnt in the darkness of the night and Mahatma Gandhi made a pact with the head of the Government soon after this performance of theirs. Such was the attitude of the Congress towards the revolutionaries.[65] The Congress was biased against the revolutionaries not only before the independence but even after the achievement of independence, "how much anti-revolutionary the Congress Government was, conclusively proved when the Home Ministry uner G.B. Pant refused to create a memorial in the memory of the Delhi Bomb Martyrs at the gate of Delhi Jail."[66] On the whole the book is full of information. Sometimes the author exaggerates the role of the revolutionaries in the freedom struggle.[67]

Bhagwan Das Mahore, Sada Shiv Rao Mulkapurker and Shiv Verma have joinly written their memoirs under the caption, *Yash Ki*

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Dharover (Hindi). The authors have given the accounts of the revolutionary movement in anecdotal style and have also narrated some side stories in addition to the political activities of the revolutionaries. The book tells the readers that the revolutionaries were selfless patriots to their marrow. They were never afraid of death, even they were in competition with each other to lay down their lives on the altar of the freedom of the Motherland.[68] They knew well that they could not challenge the mighty British Empire only with the few revolvers, bombs and a handful of comrades. And, they never thought and acted beyond their capacity.[69]

The chief features of this work is the description of few such incidents which are usually not mentioned by the other scholars. This is, most probably, the only book to tell the readers that how Bhagwan Das Mahore made a futile attempt to assassinate two approvers of the Lahore conspiracy case.[70] The work also makes a critical assessment of the effects of the sacrifices of the revolutionaries. It remarks, "The life and martyrdom of Azad has become a symbol of successful revolution whereas the life and martyrdom of Bhagat Singh represents the progressive ideology of the youth."[71]

Under the Shadow of Gallows : Story of A Revolutionary, is one more autobiography of a revolutionary named, Gulab Singh. He was convicted in Lahore conspiracy case of 1930 and was transported to life.[72] Later, he was released on February 13,1946 along with few of his comrades.[73] The author has given a brief picture of the revolutionary movement in India. In fact he has dealt in details the activities of the *Atshi-Chakkar.* The author says that the *Atshi-Chakkar.* group was an anti-police branch of the main revolutionary organisation—the *HSRA,* which aimed at spontanous reaction to the barbous methods employed by the police in dealing with the non-violent satyagrahis and their sympathizers.[74] A large portion of the book, however, deals with the details of the prosecution against the revolutionaries and author's own experiences of life in Jail.

Women revolutionaries did not lag behind men in writing their memoirs. Kalpana Dutt an active participant in the Chittagong Armoury Raid, has written her memoirs entitled as *Chittagong Armoury Raiders Reminiscences.* The authoress is of the opinion that the early phase of the revolutionary movement, the eruption of the extremist activities, was the result of the failure of the nationalist movement led by the moderates.[75] Similary, in the second phase it was the extremist trend which took the freedom movement forward while the moderates had been keeping them in check.[76] She has discussed the history of the revolutionary activities in Chittagong from 1928 to

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1933 in the form of short biographical sketches of the revolutionaries. She says that the revolutionary movement could not be separated from the general nationalist movement. It were the revolutionaries who led the nationalist movement and it was again they who took up arms when the leaders would turn away their face from the reality.[77]

The authoress is of the view that although the revolutionaries of the Northern India were profoundly under the influence of Socialist ideas but they never rose above the idea of individual assassination and individual action and it was only the Chittagong's revolutionaries who for the first time adopted mass action programmes. The authoress assessed that the Chittagong armoury raiders were undisputedly the best and most successful revolutionaries in India.[78] They thought that the British Government could not be dislodged by the killing of a hand ful of Government officials and Europeans, so they decided to raid the Government armoury and seize arms, cut communication and prevent the Government from getting reinforcement from the other parts of India."[79] They thought their short cut heroic legend would be blossomed forth all over the land and inspire young generation to fight for the freedom of their Motherland.[80] The authoress assessed that the revolutionaries of Chittagong were more realist than idealist. Their aim was not to mount the gallows or merely get killed but to win freedom. "Our revolutionary acts must awaken the masses and draw them more and more to the path of the revolutionary struggle."[81] On the whole the memoirs of Kalpana Dutt throw ample light about the nature, character and working of the revolutionary movement in East Bengal.

It is apparent that the memoirs, reminiscences and autobiographical writings of the revolutionaries, both in English and vernacular, were largely written by people who belonged to the third or at best the second category of the revolutionary hierarchy and not by the main leaders, notwithstanding one or two exceptions. Secondly, these autobiographies are largely exercises in lavish tributes to individual leaders, romanticism and nostalgia and even self-publicity with first rate historical evidence.

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AN UNRECORDED COIN OF GHIYASUDDIN MAHMUD SHAH OF BENGAL ISSUED FROM CHANDARABAD MINT

I.K. Kathotia

In 1934, Sayyid A.S.M. Taifoor of Kawser house, Dacca presented 210 coins to the Dacca Museum which were later on catalogued and published by N.K. Bhattasali, curator of the Museum in 1936. Besides the various well-known coins, the collection had a coin of Hussain Shah issued from Chandarabad mint.[1]

Since then no further coin of this mint has come to light. Thus the coin type illustrated by Bhattasali is really very scarce. Unfortunately the coin bears no date. It is also difficult to deduce the date of issue, taking into consideration the type of the coin, as this type is ("KAMRUP-KAMTAH") available from the very accession up to the end of the rule of Hussain Shah.[2]

The successors of Hussain Shah namely Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah and Alauddin Firuz Shah do not appear to have issued coins from Chandarabad mint. However, the writer of this paper very recently acquired a specimen of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah, the last Hussain Shahi ruler, bearing the clear mint name 'CHANDARABAD'. Unfortunately this coin also does not contain the date. Nevertheless, the coin is very important in as much as it is the second known specimen issued from Chandarabad mint and so far the only known coin issued by Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah from the said Mint.

The coin is described as follows :

Metal : Silver

Shape : Round

Diam : 22 mm. (Approx.)

Thickness : 2 mm. (Approx.)

Obv. Legend :

Al Sultan	السلطان
bin	بن
al Sultan	السلطان
Ghi (yas) al Dunya wa'l (din)	غياث الدنيا و الدين
Abu'l muza (ffar) Mahmud	ابو المظفر محمود

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Rev. Legend :	Shah al-Sultan	شاہ السلطان
	bin Hussain Shah al Sultan.	بن حسین شاہ السلطان
	Khallad Allah Mulkahu	خلد اللہ ملکہ
	wa Sultanahu	و سلطانہ
	Chandarabad	چندراباد

Now let us discuss the location of the mint Chandarabad. According to N.K. Bhattasali, the mint name Chandrabad is associated with a place called Chandpur or Chandpara in Murshidabad District, said to be the place where Hussain Shah began his early career.[3] This assumption is also endorsed by Karim.[4] But the history of the early life of Hussain Shah has given rise to an endless controversy. Most of the stories are conflicting in nature and it is very difficult to ascertain if the stories contain any historical truth at all. The majority of various legends and folk tales centre round a village now called Ekani Chandpara, in the Jangipur Sub-division of the Murshidabad District. The village contains ruins of considerable antiquity, associated traditionally and epigraphically, with Hussain Shah.[5]

According to Salim, Hussain Shah came accidentally to Bengal, stayed in the house of *quadi* of Chandpada, a village in Radh, who educated him and also gave the hand of his daughter and eventually Hussain became the *vizier* of Muzaffar Shah. It seems that Salim had depended for his information on the account given by Firishtah. On the other hand, Blochmann is in favour of identifying Chandpada with a village of the same name in Jessore district. But this identification of the locale of Hussain Shah is also disputed by scholars, since Chandpada does not abound in traditional stories about the early life of Hussain Shah which we find in another Chandpada of Murshidabad District.[6] Moreover, the said Chandpada was situated in Radh, or West Bangal and we do not have any reason to include this in Jessore which was not then included in Radh. Above all, not a single inscription of Hussain Shah has so far been discovered in the village of Chandpada in the Jessore District.[7] It is thus clear that the place described by Bhattasali is the one which is at present the part of Murshidabad.

It seems that Hussain Shah issued coins to commemorate certain event of victory over the area known as Chandarabad and the mint Chandarabad was nothing but a Camp mint. Similarly, the coin issued by Ghiyasuddin Mahmud also suggests the recapture of the area concerned. Had the coin been issued for the reason suggested by Bhattasali or Karim there would have been a permanent mint and the coins would have been issued from year to year.

It appears that Hussain Shah conquered some pockets of the Chandradvip or the modern Barisal district where the Hindu

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successors of the Chandradvip dynasty might be having some influence at the time and converted the Hindu name Chandradvip to Chandrabad and issued coins to commemorate the event. There seems considerable truth in the tradition recorded by the Ghataks of Idilpur that Chandradvip became the seat of an independent Hindu kingdom under the Danuj Rai Kayastha who was, we have strong reasons to believe, the same person as Danuja Rai, the Rai of Sonergaon of the Muslim historians, the founder of Chandradvip Dynasty.[8] This mint-name is also available on one coin issued in the name of Danuja Mardan Deva. The coin was discovered from Basudevpur in Khulna.[9]

Thereafter during the reigns of Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah and Alauddin Firuz Shah the said area probably changed hands and again Ghiyasuddin Mahmud recaptured the area and issued the coin to commemorate his victory.

The location of Chandrabad mint, however, is still debatable and needs further research.

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NABHA STATE COINAGE

Surinder Singh

Chaudhari Phul, the common ancestor of the Phulkain States of Patiala, Jindh and Nabha, was blessed by Guru Hargobind that his name shall be the true omen and shall bear many blossoms.[1] There have been seventeen great Sikh families in all, sprung from Chaudhari Phul, but only three of them viz., Patiala, Nabha and Jindh became royal and issued their own coinage.[2] Nabha chiefs are the descendants of Gurditta, the elder son of Tilokha who was the eldest son of Phul. The Jindh chiefs have been the descendants of Sukhchen, the younger son of Tilokha.[3] Nabha chiefs have long nursed the notion that they, by birth, had the right to head the Phulkian family and were most unhappy over the house of Patiala, the younger branch, becoming more powerful and wealthy.[4] They have nursed similar superiority over the Jindh house. The history of the next two centuries has been a chronicle of endless disputes and quarrels between these chiefs in which the British Government had been the arbitrator since their coming under its protection in 1809, against the designs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.[5]

Hamir Singh ruled Nabha from 1754 to 1783. He founded the town of Nabha in 1755, since its earlier capital Sangrur was seized by Jindh. He added Bhadson, Imloh, Rori and certain other minor territories to his State, in which he was ably assisted by his Muslim diwan called "Kubba", the hunchback.[6] Griffin states categorically that Hamir Singh was the first Nabha Chief, who established a mint,[7] basing his contention on Gen. Taylor's report on 'Cis-Sutlej State Mints.'[8] R.C. Temple, who has carried out a fairly detailed study of the coins of Modern Native States of Panjab, states that "in the year A.H. 1164 or A.D. 1751 being the fourth year of his reign, the famous Shah Durrani (or Abdali) made a raid into the Punjab and overran the greater part of it, and it is a common historical statement in the Punjab that in that year, he granted to the chiefs of Patiala, Nabha, Jindh and Malerkotla, the right to coin within their respective States".[9] R.C. Temple has further stated that Hamir Singh established a mint. The details thereof were not known to him, nor could he secure a coin of Hamir Singh.[10] None of these historians, however, have given any contemporary historical evidence in support of their contention that Hamir Singh had established a mint. R.C. Temple has also not given any historical evidence that Ahmad Shah had given to these States the right to coin in 1751.

It is recorded in "Husain Shahi" written in 1798 A.D. that the coin

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of Ahmad Shah is current in the family of Amar Singh, the Raja of Patiala and there is no mention therein about the minting of such coins by Nabha and Jindh states.[11] Gen. Taylor, the agent of the Lt. Governor Cis-Sutlej States, in his study of Cis-Sutlej States' coinage in 1869, has stated that the Patiala mint was established by the order of Ahmad Shah Durrani when Patiala was ruled by Raja Amar Singh. Griffin relies on Gen. Taylor's report.[12] The same view is held in a note on Patiala State Currency prepared by the State Government.[13] R.C. Temple, however, holds the view that the right to coin was given by Ahmad Shah to Raja Alla Singh in 1765.[14]

Historical evidence exists over the contacts between Ahmad Shah and Patiala chiefs, but no such evidence has come to notice where Ahmad Shah made contacts with the rulers of Jindh and Nabha and treated them at par with the house of Patiala. The Malerkotla rulers were on different footing because of their being Muslim rulers and also for not having been on a confrontational course with the Durranis. R.C. Temple has shown 46 representative coins of Patiala, Jindh, Nabha, Kaithal and Malerkotla in his study of the coinage of these states. Dates are not given on coins of all these states but for Nabha, wherein dates are there on almost all the coins.[15] Hence, the practice of giving dates on the coins existed in Nabha State only and the earliest known date of Nabha coins has been Sambat 1877 or A.D. 1820.[16] I am, therefore, of the opinion that Ahmad Shah Abdali did not give the right to coinage to all the Cis-Sutlej states in 1751 as stated by R.C. Temple. I am also of the opinion that the Nabha State mint was not established by Hamir Singh as stated by Griffin and Temple, but appears to have been established sometimes during the long reign of Raja Jaswant Singh from A.D. 1783 to 1840, as a sign of royalty and to equate themselves with the house of Patiala.

Almost all the rulers of Cis-Sutlej states, being apprehensive of the designs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, took protection of the British, except the house of Nabha which has shown inclinations time and again to side with the main stream of the Sikhs and against the British. Raja Jaswant Singh was not initially inclined to seek British protection and wanted to side with Lahore Darbar, but on comprehending the ambitions of Ranjit Singh, he also came under the British protection.[17] His successor Raja Devinder Singh, being an orthodox Sikh, was inclined to transfer his friendship from the British to the Lahore Darbar.[18] In the first Anglo-Sikh war Raja Devinder Singh did not effectively support the British cause. He was deposed and about one-fourth of Nabha State territories were confiscated.[19] His son, Bharpur Singh, aged seven, was made the chief under the guardianship of Rani Chand Kaur and four administrators chosen by the British. Bharpur

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Singh helped the British with great zeal and sincerity in the 1857 upheaval and was duly rewarded.[20] Raja Ripudaman Singh was also deposed[21] in 1923 upheaval for his leanings towards the Singh Sabha Movement and his minor son Partap Singh was made the chief. When Raja Partap Singh attained majority, his powers were greatly curtailed as compared to the other rulers of Cis-Sutlej States.[22]

The Nabha State stands out on a somewhat different footing in its relations with the British paramount vis a vis, the other Cis-Sutlej States and its rulers have been expressing their sympathies with the mainstream of the Sikhs from time to time. It is the only Cis-Sutlej State which discarded the Durrani legend and adopted the Sikh legend for its coinage.[23] Patiala State copied the Nabha State Sikh legend for its *nazrana* coins called Guru Sahib Coins, in the twentieth century when the state coinage stood abolished and the British currency was the legal tender.[24]

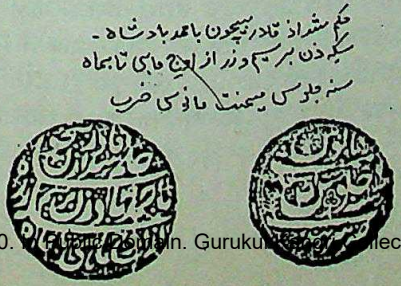
Nabha State has been ruled by :

1. Raja Hamir Singh	A.D. 1754 to 1783.	29 years
2. Raja Jaswant Singh	A.D. 1783 to 1840.	57 years
3. Raja Devinder Singh	A.D. 1840 to 1846.	6 years
4. Raja Bharpur Singh	A.D. 1846 to 1863.	19 years
5. Raja Bhagwan Singh	A.D. 1863 to 1871.	8 years
6. Raja Hira Singh	A.D. 1871 to 1911.	40 years
7. Raja Ripudaman Singh	A.D. 1912 to 1923.	11 years
8. Raja Partap Singh	A.D. 1923 to onwards.	

It is observed from the various collections of coins of Cis-Sutlej States made in the later half of the nineteenth century, that no coin was struck by Raja Hamir Singh. It was only in the reign of Raja Jaswant Singh that the coins were first struck in Nabha State. Since the Nabha coins invariably bear the date thereon, the first available Durrani coin pertains to Sambat 1877 or A.D. 1820. The Durrani coins pertain to the years 1820, 1825, 1826, 1836 and thereafter the minting of Durrani coins was discontinued. Nabha Durrani coins of the later period are not available. These coins of the later period were also not available with the state governments and even the local *sarafs*, the silver smiths, in and around 1890, when R.C. Temple carried out his detailed study in which all assistance was provided by the state government. The coins of Ahmad Shah Abdali bear a distinctive legend which runs as under :-

Obverse

Reverse



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The above is the reproduction (given by R.C. Temple) of the die with the Nawab of Malerkotla. These dies have been cut and recut, over and over again but no material change has taken place beyond adding, in some cases only, the mark or sign of the ruler or the year of the coinage.[25]

R.C. Temple was able to collect the earliest coin with the Sikh legend pertaining to the year A.D. 1850 or Sambat 1907, (Sr. No. 7, Appendix A). Hence, he has taken the view that the change of coinage took place during the reign of Bharpur Singh.[26] R.C. Temple is wrong in his above assessment, as Nabha coins with Sikh legend pertaining to earlier priods are available. The coin for the year Sambat 1892 or A.D. 1835 is available with Government Museum Lahore.[27] Another such coin, pertaining to the year Sambat 1893 or A.D. 1836, is available with the Sheesh Mahal Museum Patiala.[28] (Sr. No. 5 and 6 of the Appendix A). Hence, the discarding of the Durrani coinage in favour of the Sikh coinage was carried out by Raja Jaswant Singh in the later part of his reign when the Durranis had completely disappeared from the Indian scene. The Nabha Sikh legend runs as under :—

Obverse دیگ تیغ فتح نصرت بے درنگ یافت از ناناک گورو گوبند سنگھ۔

Reverse جلوسی میمنت مانوس ضرب نابھا

This is the legend on Banda Bahadur's seal and on the coins of the Misls and Lahore Darbar, which had become synonymous with the Sikhs and which was adopted by the Nabha rulers and was continued till the end of the state coinage. The next available coins are of the period of Raja Bharpur Singh. These coins are of the years 1850, 1851, 1853, 1856 and 1863, shown at Sr.No. 7 to 11 of Appendix A. The next available coins are of the years 1871 and 1872 A.D. pertaining to the reign of Raja Hira Singh, placed at Sr. No. 12 and 13 of Appendix A. With the annexation of the Lahore Darbar territories and increasing British influence, the British currency became the prevalent currency even in the Cis-Sutlej States in the later half of the nineteenth century. The state coins were minted only on special occasions for the need of the state government, or to be more precise, for the need of the ruling houses rather than for the general public.[29] The state currency also got devalued due to the mixing of more and more alloy vis-a-vis the British currency which was maintaining its standard purity.[30] After the annexation of Punjab, the prevalent existing currencies were sent in bulk to the British mints at Calcutta and Bombay and within a few years Nanak Shahi and other currencies became a thing of the past.[31] Although the Cis-Sutlej States continued to hold the right to mint coinage, but the same was only in the name and not in actual practice.

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State Mint and the method of Minting

The Nabha state rupee with the Sikh legend was called Nabha Rupee weighing 11 1/4 *mashas* out of which 10 *mashas* and 4 1/4 *rattis* was pure silver and the rest alloy. It was 5 *rattis* less in wieght and 2 1/2 *rattis* less in actual silver, as compared with the British rupees. Its value was 15 annas as compared to 16 annas for the British rupee. Gold Mohars were occasionally struck by the state government for its own use. These weighed 9 3/4 *mashas* and were of pure gold. Gen. Taylor observed in 1869 A.D. that the state officials had not maintained any account of the regular out-turn of currency and coining was done only on special occasions and for small amounts. The staff engaged was hardly half a dozen hands. The Nabha rupees besides their use in the state, found their way into the neighbouring markets, to a very minor extent.[32] R.C. Temple states that on special occasions only the mint became active and these were primarily the occasions of royal marriages and great state functions.[33] The mint was a small building with a courtyard and a few rooms used as workshops. The metals, silver and gold, were purified and cast into small bars having been run through grooved iron moulds. The thickness of the bar was kept about the diameter of the rupee and was cut into pieces with a hammer and a chisel by guess work. These pieces were weighed and corrected by small additions of silver, hammered in cold, or by scrapping or chipping off excess metal. These discs were again weighed and thereafter, stamped by hammering, being put between the two iron dies, placed in a strong wooden frame. These dies were much larger than the coins, and only a part of the legend came on the coins.[34]

During the inspection of the state treasury on 19th July, 1923, it was observed that out of the total currency worth over two lakhs, the Nabha rupees were less than three thousand and the Kotla rupees (Durrani Coinage) were worth about two hundred rupees. The inspecting officer recommended the discontinuation of the minting of the Nabha rupees and the disposal of the Kotla rupees.[35] In 1930, the Accountant General prepared a note, dated 13th November 1930, stating that Late His Highness had fixed certain annuities relating to charitable endowments and offerings to *gurudwaras* in Nabha rupees instead of British rupees. He sought permission for the minting of Nabha rupees before the month of Cheth when the annual payments of about thirteen hundred rupees become due. He also suggested the melting of the Kotla rupees to save on cost of silver for the Nabha rupees, to which the Home Member readily agreed.[36] In 1935, the Accountant General again put up a note dated 26th June 1935,[37] that the market value of the Nabha rupee stood greatly devalued and recommended it to be fixed at -/8/- annas i.e. half of its face value, as

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the minting of the Nabha rupees was being done for the offerings to the *gurudwaras* and not for state purposes. The Regency Council in their resolution no. 46 dated 9th July 1935,[38] rejected the recommendations of the Accountant General on the plea that there has been no representations from the *gurudwara* people on that account. The houses of God, thus stood cheated of half of the offerings.

The minting of the Nabha rupees for annual offerings to the *gurudwaras* continued till the merger of the state in the Union of India on the eve of Indian independence. The annual Administrative Reports on Nabha State for the years 1930 to 1940 consistently show an annual expenditure of rupees five hundred and seventy on the state mint. In 1941 the same stood at rupees five hundred and twenty two, and for the years 1942 to 1944 no separate expenditure has been shown on the mint. The working of the mint was entrusted to the *toshakhana* without any extra establishment.[39] There are five gold mohars and 16 silver rupees of Nabha mint with the Sheesh Mahal Museum Patiala.[40] Photographs of three Nabha gold mohars are given in Appendix A. The Nabha state coinage which commenced in around 1820 with the minting of Durrani coinage shifted to the minting of coins with Sikh legend in 1835 and finally closed down in around 1945.

APPENDIX A

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF COINS

Coins of Jaswant Singh

No. 1. ex collection British Museum

Obverse, Legend :-

Reverse, Legend :-

Marks :- Kalghi partly visible, ۷۷ for St. 1877 i.e. A.D. 1825.

No. 2. ex collection R.C. Temple.

Obverse, Legend :-

Reverse, Legend :-

Marks :- rude Kalghi, ۸۳ for St. 1883 i.e. A.D. 1826.

No. 3. ex collection Government Museum Lahore

Obverse, Legend :-

Reverse, Legend :-

No. 4. ex collection R.C. Temple.

Obverse, Legend :-

Reverse, Legend :-

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Marks :- ۹۳ for St. 1893 i.e. A.D. 1836.

No. 5. ex collection Government Museum Lahore

Obverse, Legend :- [illegible]

Reverse, Legend :- [illegible] ۱۸۹۲

Marks :- ۱۸۹۲ is for st. 1892 i.e. A.D. 1835.

No. 6. ex collection Sheesh Mahal Museum Patiala.

Obverse, Legend :- [illegible]

Reverse, Legend :- [illegible]

Marks :- Leaf motif, ۱۸۹۳ for St. 1893 i.e. A.D. 1836.

Coins of Bharpur Singh

No. 7. ex collection R.C. Temple.

Obverse, Legend :- [illegible]

Reverse, Legend :- [illegible]

Marks :- Leaf motif, ۱۹۰۷ over گورو St. 1907 i.e. A.D. 1850.

No. 8. ex collection Surinder Singh (personal)

Obverse, Legend :- [illegible]

Reverse, Legend :- [illegible] ۱۹۰۸

Marks :- Leaf motif, ۱۹۰۸ for St. 1908 i.e. A.D. 1851

No. 9. ex collection R.C. Temple

Obverse, Legend :- [illegible]

Reverse, Legend :- [illegible]

Marks :- ۱۹۱ over گورو for St. 1910 or 1919 i.e. A.D. 1953 or 1952.

No. 10. ex collection Sheesh Mahal Museum Patiala.

Obverse, Legend :- [illegible] ۱۹۱۳

Reverse, Legend :- [illegible]

Marks :- Leaf motif, ۱۹۱۳ for St. 1913 i.e. A.D. 1856.

No. 11. ex collection R.C. Temple.

Obverse, Legend :- [illegible]

Reverse, Legend :- [illegible]

Marks : ۱۹۲۰ over گورو for St. 1920 i.e. A.D. 1863.

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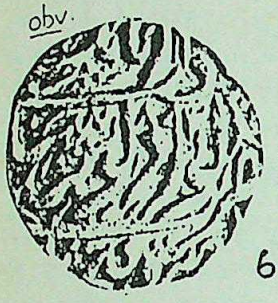

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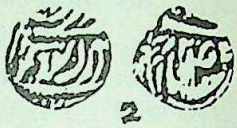

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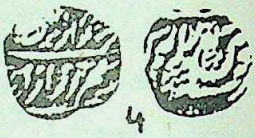

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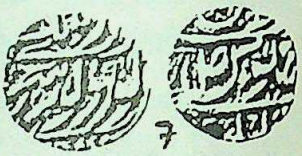

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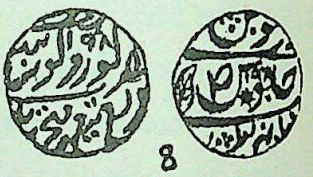

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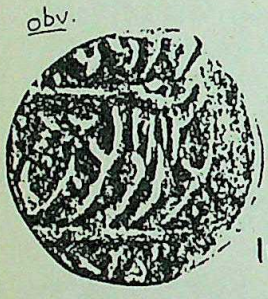
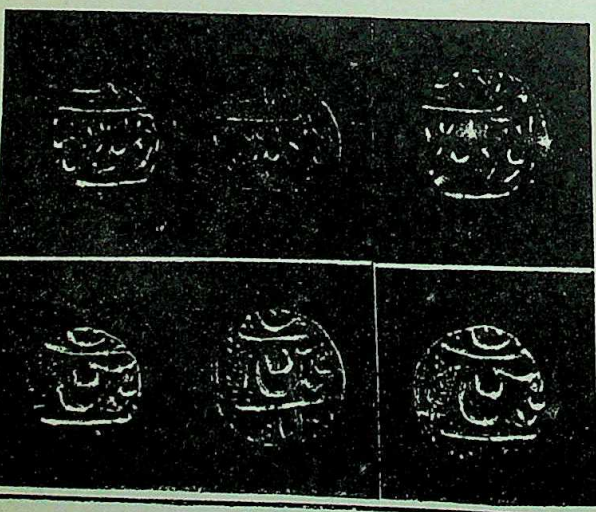
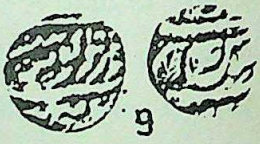


10

GOLD MOHARS





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11

12

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Coins of Hira Singh

No. 12. ex collection R.C. Temple.

Obverse, Legend :- [illegible]

Reverse, Legend :- [illegible]

Marks :- Katar after س of سنہ. for St. 1928 i.e. A.D. 1871.

No. 13. ex collection R.C. Temple

The legend on the obverse and the reverse is the same as that of coin no. 12, except for the date St. 1929 i.e. A.D. 1872.

Note :- The representative coins of the collections of R.C. Temple and of British Museum have been taken from *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 339 to 341. The Govt. Museum Lahore Coins: from Rodgers' *Catalogue of Coins of Lahore Museum,* 1891. Coins of Sheesh Mahal Museum have been taken from the *Catalogue of Dal Khalsa and Lahore Darbar coins* with Sheesh Mahal Museum Patiala, 1989. The personal collection has also been taken into consideration for the above selection of representative coins of Nabha State.

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3. Griffin, *Rajas of Panjab,* p. 380.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 387.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 385.
6. *Ibid.,* p. 382.
7. *Ibid.,* p. 382.
8. *Ibid.,* pp. 288-89.
9. R.C. Temple, *Indian Antiquary,* pp. 321-322.
10. *Ibid.,* p. 330.
11. Hari Ram Gupta, *History of Sikhs, Vol. II, 1978,* p. 244.
12. Griffin, *Rajas of Panjab,* p. 286.
13. Note Patiala State Currency, Panjab State Archives, Patiala.
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15. *Ibid.,* pp. 335-41.
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18. *Ibid.*, pp. 410-411.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 417.

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21. *Panjab History Conference*, March 1982, p. 264.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

23. Griffin, p. 288; Temple, p. 331 ; *Catalogue of Coins Lahore Museum*, 1981, p. 120.

24. Surinder Singh, Patiala State Mint and Nazarana Coins. unpublished Mss.

25. R.C. Temple, *Indian Antiquary*, p. 322.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

27. *Catalogue of Coins Govt. Museum Lahore*, p. 120.

28. *Catalogue of Sikh Coins Sheesh Mahal Museum Patiala*, p. 180.

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30. Accountant General Note dated, 26.6.1935, Panjab State Archives.

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34. *Ibid.*, pp. 334-35.

35. Inspection Nabha Treasury, dated 19.7.1923, Panjab State Archives.

36. Accountant General Nabha, Note dated 13.10.30, Panjab State Archives.

37. Accountant General Nabha, Note dated 26.6.1935, Panjab State Archives.

38. Regency council decision dated 9.7.1935, Panjab State Archives.

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SOME BRAHMANICAL SCULPTURES OF CHANDIGARH MUSEUM—A REAPPRAISAL

Suwarcha Paul
&
Poonam Khanna

The most direct way of confirming the history of a country is through archaeology and a study of the available antiquities. But not all the edifices of the years bygone are found in situ. Due to plundering, invasions of raiders, expansion of conquered territories, efforts of determined travellers and several other causes, sculptures have found their way to places far removed from those of their origin. A few of these join others in collections at various places, to form part of museum collections. Thus, a large number of sculptures belonging to the northern plains of India, made their way to Lahore Museum. This led to a sizeable collection of Brahmanical and Gandhāra sculptures in the Museum, which was further augmented through excavations, purchases, donations etcetra over the not-so-long a period but one of rich yield, since the Museum's inception in the year 1864.

After the partition of the country, the Lahore Museum collection was divided between Pakistan and India in 60 : 40 ratio. This share is now housed in Chandigarh Museum. So a fairly important collection of Brahmanical sculptures rests in the Museum, a publication of which, called the 'Catalogue of Medieval Indian sculpture'was brought out by an eminent art historian, D.C. Bhattacharya. Various other scholars, like Helene Diserens and Devendra Handa among others, have discussed them in journals. But since then, more attention, which these works deserve has not been paid, especially with regard to their sites and the region from which these were excavated. This may perhaps be due to the meagre, if not negligible, information regarding their origin available with the Chandigarh Museum.

While going though the accession records of Brahminical sculptures, the present writers noticed a number affixed alongwith the accession number received from Lahore Museum. The search for a clue as to the reason for this number being present on the sculpture led to the search for material information connected with the region of its excavation whence the number might have originated prior to its accession in the Lahore Museum. While perusing the various sources including survey reports, we came accross the District and State Gazetteer of (undivided) Punjab Vol. I through IV. It mentions the very areas (which form the subject matter of this paper) as having yielded the sculptures which were taken to Lahore Museum.

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It was the Central Museum Lahore's annual report which eventually solved for us the mystery of the number marked alongwith the Lahore accession number. These numbers were the accession numbers given to the sculptures between 1931 and 1944. The detailed description given, makes the identification of the Chandigarh Museum objects conclusive. It also helped to clear once and for all, the doubts that arose earlier as to how two sculptures, similar in stone and style, could be assigned to different regions, as was the case; and similarly why so many sculptures ascribed to Agroha, albeit in an inconclusive manner, did not typify a singular stylistic presentation. When compared now, in the light of the sites once again assigned as per the given provenance, the shroud unravels by itself and the sculptures fit together stylistically and material-wise, too.

All the sculptures under discussion in this article can stylistically be attributed to medieval Indian style ranging usually between the eighth and the sixteenth centuries. These have been attributed by us to : (I) Rohtak, Naraingarh and Hissar districts (Now forming part of Haryana) and (II) Jhelum district, the region which, for most part, is now in Pakistan and (III) Kangra region (now, Himachal Pradesh).

The region which is now in Haryana in extremely rich in archaeological finds. There are as many as 100 active sites in the State that have yielded sculptures of high order. It is perhaps due to the overall prosperity and prolific growth of religious cults that led to the phenomenal art activity. The increase and diversification of image worship was conducive to the introduction and development of a variety of new forms. All the three principal cults, that is, Vaishnavism, Śaivism and Śaktism, thrived in the region. Thus, the prevailing religious environment was instrumental in achieving abundantly productive art form during the 9th through 15th centuries. Certain minor cults were also the subject of the art of sculpture. In Hissar District, about 22 km. to the Northwest, on the metalled road to Sirsa, is the town of Agroha. Many old mounds lie Northwest of the present township, the largest of them being about 87 ft. high, occupying an area of nearly 650 acres. It is indicative of the past glory, importance and expanse of the site. Chandigarh Museum has a substantial number of sculptures from this site (ancient name Agrodaka). Agroha was on a trade route from Mathura to Taxilla.[1]

It has yielded a number of Kubera figures, leading us to conclude that it was a prosperous mercantile region.[2] It figures that it also led to the interaction of artistic tradition, with artists freely moving from place to place whenever and wherever commissioned to undertake the work. Most of the fragments of sculptures received from Lahore which can be

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attributed to Agroha are architectural fragments, being part of a building complex e.g.

1. Acc. No. 9 (Ht. 22 cms) — Architectural fragment with man in a bracket.
2. Acc. No. 15 (Ht. 16.5 cms) — Nāga motif used for architectural ornamentation (Fig.1).
3. Acc. No. 96 (Ht. 30 cms) — carved pillar base from Agroha.
4. Acc. No. 92 (Ht. 24 cms) — An architectural fragment[3] with *Kīrti-mukha* in the centre, a figure of lion on left which is mutilated; on the right end is a flying figure above that of Pārśvanātha, also mutilated.
5. Acc. No. 94 — This fragment with *Kīrtimukha* in the centre and a flying female figure on either side is from Hansi, a site in Hissar District (Fig. 2).

Agroha has also yielded baked bricks with carvings of exotic variety, for instance Acc. Nos. 18, 22, 28 and 34.

From the Rohtak region, sculptures of exotic variety are found. Their carving is smooth and round and the rendering is stylistically near perfect. The antiquity of Rohtak region is found in the Settlement Report of 1877 and the real history of old sites is lost. The excavations at Rohtak Khokrakot or Rohtasgarh seem to reveal that three cities have successively been decimated. The Dini mosque contains some old Hindu carvings, which were made use of by Ala-ud-din Khilji after having got the temples demolished.

In 1828, General Mundy speaks of "the ancient and consequently, ruinous town" of Rohtak, "the wide circuit of its dilapidated fortifications" and "the still elegant domes of many time-worn tanks tell melancholy tales of gone-by grandeurs."[4]

From the other sites at Rohtak, 'hollow Peak' or Khokrakot near Bohr, plenty of statues have been revealed which found their way to Lahore and later Chandigarh Museum collection. Many sculptures from Khokrakot Bohr, near the mound of Bohr, are known to have been taken to Lahore Museum by the then curator Dr. Sita Ram during the years 1931 to 1935. Mohanbari, another site was most extensive and one of the oldest. There, too, some fine delicate specimens of carving as well as figures let into the walls of the houses have been discovered. Some other prominent sites of the region are Meham and Jhajjar which have yielded sculptures.

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Dvārapālī (Acc. No. 8 Ht. 20 cms) from Rohtak, probably Bohr, Khokrakot is of c.11th cent. A.D.

The figure has been called Gaṅgā, the river goddess[5] or an attendant of Goddess Gaṅgā[6] and is attributed to Agroha. It is a lively figure having graceful flexion and curvature of the body. It represents part of a pilaster at the bottom of which is represented a Dvārapāli bearing an *Amṛitakalaśa*. The face has been carved three quarter view, with bust partly disfigured and navel exposed to view.

Another sculpture, that of Dvārapālī and Dvārapāla,[7] (Acc. No. 81, Ht. 63.5 cms) of c.11th cent A.D. is from Rohtak area as its description tallies with that of the Curator, Lahore Museum who had collected the sculpture from Rohtak site for the museum . While the female figure is bearing the *Kalaśa*, it is not possible to identify the small figure next to her. The figure of Dvārapāla wears *kuṇdalas* and the tip of his nose and the upper part of the mouth is slightly mutilated.

A cruder sculpture showing Dvārapālī and Dvārapāla (Acc. No. 135 ht. 23 cms) (fig. 3) from Rohtak region is of c.12th cent. A.D. and forms part of a door-surround. It shows a female standing on the right side of the male figure. She is holding probably a *kalaśa* in her right hand while the other portion is slightly mutilated.

A sculpture showing Kubera and Hāriti (Acc. No. 62, ht. 28 cms) from Rohtak region is of c.12th-13th century A.D. (fig. 4). Kubera holds a pot on one hand while the other turned upwards is missing. He sports a profusion of ornaments and wears a stylised girdle. This gives in a photograph an impression of holding a sword.[8] A similar though cruder and less pronounced girdle adorns Hāriti too. They are posing in *tribhaṅga* and stand on common platform, while their back slab is separately curved and joined in the middle. Hāriti has two children, one, on either hand. The bust of a lady (Acc. No. 154, ht. 12 cms) of 12th cent. was brought from Rohtak in 1934 by Dr. Sita Ram. It represents a feminine bust in which the hands are placed between her bosoms which are mutilated. She wears a necklace and her hair is tied in a knot to one side.

Collected in the year 1934 by Dr. Sita Ram, is a beautiful head of Pārvatī (Acc. No. 38, ht. 23 cms) from Rohtak region belonging to c.7th cent. A.D. She wears a beautiful hair-do and a floral pearl earring adorns her. The serene face has a trace of Gupta idiom, but on the whole it reflects the mannerist style of medieval sculptures. Also, from Rohtak area is the figure of Sūrya, (Acc. No. 41, ht. 56 cms). The two hands are broken, but it has all the attributes of sun. For example the boots and the *Avyaṅga*. An attendant on either side of him poses in

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tribhaṅga posture, wearing boots of the Kushāṇa pattern. They are probably Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, one holding the staff, while the other holds the paper scroll and inkpot. It also has his spouses Chhāyā and Suvarchā, besides Gandharva couples though the figures are mutilated. This piece has close resemblance to the sculptures recently excavated from the Beri site in Rohtak Distt.[9]

The architectural fragment with the figure of Brahmā in a recess (Acc. No. 64) is probably of c.9th cent. A.D. It is also from Rohtak region. Another well-rendered fragment of an arm holding a mace with a small figure of Brahmā behind it (Acc. No. 43 (1), ht. 22 cms, fig. 5), probably belongs to 10th cent. A.D. and comes from Rohtak distt. It represents only the mace and arm of Vishṇu, the remaining part of the sculpture being lost.

The headless torso of dancing Apsarā (Acc. No. 1, ht. 24.5 cms) has rhythmic flow of lines, and the care with which this little sculpture has been carved speaks highly of the Pratihāra art which was prevalent in the region in the 12th-13th cent. A.D.

The head of Pārvatī (Acc. No. 52, ht. 16.5 cms) has all the attributes of painstaking work, like the coiffure and the crest and the *kuṇḍalas,* that also help identify it as Pārvatī despite the fact that it is a badly mutilated piece. The facial curvature is discernible, though no carving or features can be seen. One eroded figure of Goddess Durgā (Acc. No. 143, ht. 13 cms, fig 6) is from Bohr area in Rohtak distt. The rigidly carved figure shows *triśūla* and probably a flower, the lower right hand is in *varadā-mudrā,* while the attribute in the left hand is not clear. The Goddess is flanked by two figures of lion. Another sculpture from Bohr in Rohtak distt. is that of Agni [14] (Acc No. 147, ht. 23 cms, fig. 7) stylistically belonging to c.10th cent. A.D. He holds in his hands a rosary and a water vessel, has matted hair and sports a beard. The back slab has decorative motifs showing fire flames.

Two sculptures come from the lower Shivalik range, in the Pinjore region. Pinjore, or Panchapura as it was earlier known, was one of the principal places in the territory of Raja of Sirmur, whence it came into the possession of the Patiala state. The history of Pinjore is found in Beruni's "Al-Hind' and Siraj's 'Tabqate-e-Nasiri'. Since Pinjore was on the route of the invaders into the territory, the Muslim raiders razed the religious and social institutions and used part of the original walls or material to erect mosques over the original temples. The heap of ruins barely a few hundred yards to the north of the Pinjore gardens has revealed exquisite sculptures dating to circa 9th cent A.D. Many of the sculptures, discovered about a century ago, found their way to the

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Lahore Museum, out of which a Vishṇu head (fig. 8) (Acc. No. 49, ht. 17 cms) of 12th cent. A.D. deserves special mention. The broken part of this sculpture depicts Vishṇu in the middle of a semi-circular slab. On the two back ends are the figure of Śiva and Brahmā. The figure of Śiva is broken, while the potbellied figure of Brahmā on the right, has all the attributes. The small sculpture is impressively carved. However, it is the figures on the sides of the pillar(fig. 9) (Acc. No. 89 ht. 73 cms) also carted away to Lahore Museum, that catch one's eye. Dated circa 8th cent A.D, it apparently formed part of a temple doorframe. Three of its sides have carvings of Varāha, goddess Yamunā and probably Rāma, incarnation of Vishṇu, respectively. Perhaps the other pillar (if doorframe, as has been suggested in what it was) bore the figure representing Gaṅgā, facing this figure of Yamunā on the pillar mentioned above. This pillar is similar to the pillar that has remained with Lahore Museum and was also from Pinjore. Traces of classical idiom are still discernible in the carving, a trend common to many other sculptures discovered from this region.

Chandigarh Museum has a number of sculptured fragments from Murti, a site in the Shahpur Distt. in Punjab. "The main features of this particular kind of carving are the almost entire absence of any natural floral element and the constant use of a trailing conventional form, produced in such a crisp method of relief as to look as if the pattern, instead of being cut in stone, were modelled in clay"[10] (fig 10).

These fragments are from one building, probably a temple; the building was in ruins already and what worthwhile was left was probably brought to Lahore Museum. The temple was a beautiful edifice, a monumental piece of architecture and carving. The terribly shattered condition of all the stones tries to tell its own mute but heart rending story—a wilful and deliberate destruction at some time in the temple's history. The carved fragments of any value were collected near this ruin by Dr. Stein and deposited in Lahore Museum. The site of the 'Jain Murti' was first mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as Simhapura. Later, Cunningham suggested the identification of Kitas with the Simghapura of Hiuen Tsang, but he could not identify the exact place as he was confused between Kitas and Malot and besides, none of his accounts mention the Jaina ruins. This made Dr. Stein visit the Salt Range in the end of year 1889 in order to sort this out. He wrote letters to Prof. Buhler where he mentioned that 'immediately on his arrival', Dr. Stein heard from the villagers that there was a place called Murti in the Gamdhala valley which yielded stone images and beautifully carved blocks, such as had been taken a few years before to build a new bridge at Choa Saidan Shah; he satisfied himself that the materials

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of this bridge must have been taken from an old temple. He, therefore, went on a visit to Murti.

> "I followed the stream, which flows from Kita down the Gamdhala valley, and was not a little surprised when my guide, after a march of about 2 miles, showed me the place where all the sculptures had been found in a spot which seems to agree most remarkably with Hiuen Tsang's description. The bed of the Ketas' brook with the narrow and very pictureque Gamdhala valley, a number of small pools and at a bend where there are two larger basins, stands the hill of Murti; it rises on a base of solid sandstone to a height of about 10 ft. above the level of the water, and at the top expands into a small plateau, about 25 ft. long and 190 ft. broad. On this platform, lies a mound about 40 ft. high, and on its west side an enormous mass of rubbish, marking the site of an ancient temple. Two trenches about 70 ft long, which run North and West, show where the wall stood, the fundaments of which were excavated 8 years ago (i.e. 1818) by the order of the Assistant Commissioner, to furnish material for the bridge at Choa. Small fragments of richly ornamental capitals (fig. 11) and friezes can be picked up without trouble from the heap of ruins. From the top of the hill I heard the murmuring of the brook, which, on leaving the principal pool, forces its way through boulders. Dense groups of trees, such as Hiuen Tsang describes, are reflected in the limpid water of the pools, which still swarm with fish."[12]

We know further, that over 30 camel loads of sculptures and architectural ornaments were removed to Lahore Museum from this site. Dr. Stein records that the Murti temple is locally ascribed to a Raja Phatak who reigned before the time of Raja Man, and that the fact of its having belonged to the Jainas is still known.

The small fragments with richly ornamental capitals, specially the friezes, resemble those of the Jaina Caves of Ellora, though these are of supreior execution than the other, more popular works of sculpture. All the 40 odd smaller pieces of fragments in the Museum remarkably show the same consistency of elegance in style and workmanship and fine finish. They are cut from red sandstone and are decidedly in the Jaina style.

Notwithstanding the Muslim invasions and disastrous earthquakes, many of the Hindu temples were better preseved in the Kangra region, ancient Trigarta, than in any other district of Punjab. The region is singularly rich in antiquarian remains pertaining to

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Brahamanical, Buddhist and Jaina religious idioms. This is no doubt largely due to the relative inaccessibility of the region. Lahore Museum purchased a number of sculptures, like the inscribed Buddha statuette, 12 cm high and a Vishṇu statue with inscription. That is not all, however, as Dr. Sita Ram, the then Curator of Lahore Museum, in the course of his two visits, discovered and acquired for the Museum some 27 sculptures from Kangra region. Between the visits, he realised that a number of pieces of merit had been purchased, so he persuaded C.V. Salisbury, the then Deputy Commissioner of Kangra, to use his good offices to acquire those fine specimens. This lot included among others, the follwing :—

Kārttikeya (fig. 12) (Acc. No. 131-0213, ht. 39 cms) according to Sita Ram's description was, 'a richly ornamented and crowned standing Dvārapāla with a third eye whose feet are weather-worn, having strange Indonesian or Cambodian look' about them; in particular, the head of Kārttikeya is mounted more in the style of the heads of Rāvaṇta in the temples at Angkorvat, Bayon and Iswarapura than in any representation of this deity with which we are generally familiar. Like the other specimens of this lot, this sculpture is of 15th cent.A.C.

An image of Sūrya (fig. 13) (Acc. No. 121 (i)-02814, ht. 56 cms.) was discovered near the temple of Siddhanātha (Baijnath). It was cracked from one end to the other, the breakage running across, just above the navel region. The known attribute of this deity is, holding a lotus in each hand, but they are both broken below the armpit. On either side of the figure, with feet clad in shoes of Kushāṇa pattern, stands an attendant holding a weapon in one hand and a lotus in the other. Below the god, are shown in profile the seven horses of his chariot. The rays radiating behind the god's head symbolise his identity. Stylistically, the Sūrya image is similar to the other such images of 15th cent A.D.

The architectural fragment (Acc. No. 166, ht. 46 cms) from Kangra region is a piece in which are carved at either end, the replicas of Āryavarta *śikharas*, and the Buddha in *'Bhūsparśa mudrā'* seated under the pillared porch of the middle tower with probably a *Simhavaktra* and Gaṇapati under similar pillared porches at the end towers on either side.

The image of Gaṇeśa (fig. 14) (Acc.No.116-02808) from this region again belongs to 15th century A.D. and arouses considerable interest. Gaṇapati is shown seated with a crown and a three-stringed necklace adorning him. It is mutilated on the right side at his mouth and feet.

The figure of Jain Tirthaṅkara (fig. 15) (Acc.No. 115-02817, ht. 29.5 cms)from Kangra, is in two parts, the lower, representing the Tirthaṅkara

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seated in *samādhi*. In this portion the head is missing. The upper part shows a fragment of a *'Padma-Prabhāmaṇḍala'* with an elephant at the top, a flying *gandharva* (mutilated) below and a *chamvarī* bearer to one side.

Also, from the Kangra region is this (Acc. No. 84, ht. 34.5 cms) column with 5 headless figures around it. Starting from the left to the right, the first is that of a dancer; next to that, is the Vīṇā player; the one after that, being mutilated and the next after that is of a drummer. The last one is rendered unidentifiable owing to mutilation. The Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa figure (fig. 16) (Acc. No. 129, ht. 63 cms) from the region of Kangra shows the *'Vāhāna* Garuḍa' on its right side. The Nārāyaṇa figure has the usual attributes while Lakshmī shown having two hands, holds a lotus in one. The sculpture bears stylistic resemblance with those of Sūryā & Kārttikeya as discussed earlier.

The sculpture depicting the river goddess Gaṅgā (fig. 17) (Acc. no R2135, ht. 71 cms) has all the attributes, associated with her, including her *vāhana*, the Makara. Hailing from the region of Bajaura (Kulu) it has sophisticated expression and highly distinctive carving of Makara and the goddess itself.

The figure of Gaṇa (Acc. No. 77, ht. 52 cms) of this region defies accurate description owing to the damage it has sustained, and is perhaps a *Gandharva*. The Varāha incarnation of Vishṇu (fig. 18) (Acc. No. 132, ht. 23 cms) is bedecked with full ornamentation and jewellery, which includes the imposing *śrīvatsa* gem mark. The figure of the goddess Pṛithvī is badly damaged, as is partially, the Varāha.

In conclusion, we hope that bringing into sharp focus the question of provenance as well as the stylistic traditions of particular regions will interest the scholars into taking up further analysis and investigation and will help them in a small measure, in putting these sculptures in proper perspective.

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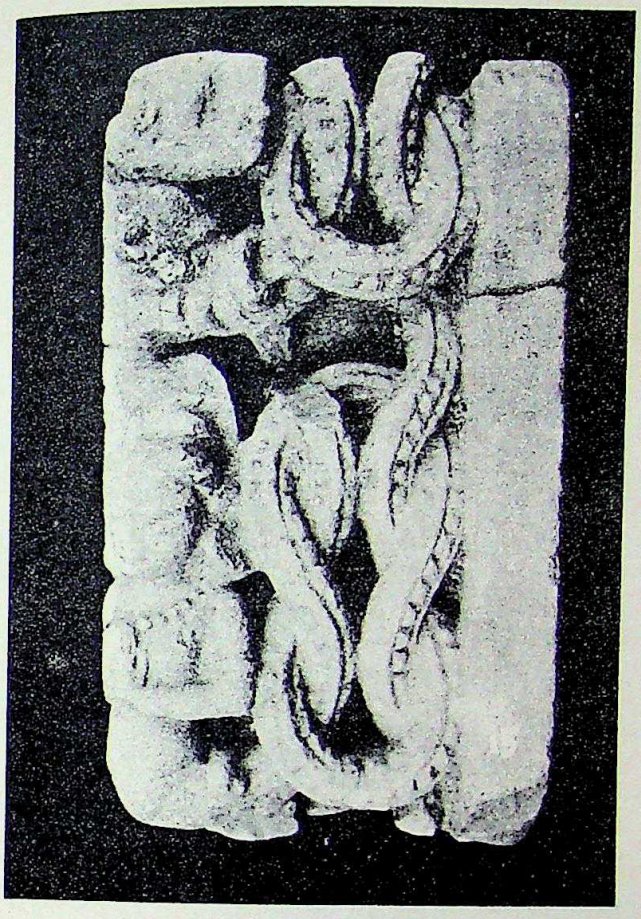

Fig. 1. Nāga motif used for architectural ornamentation

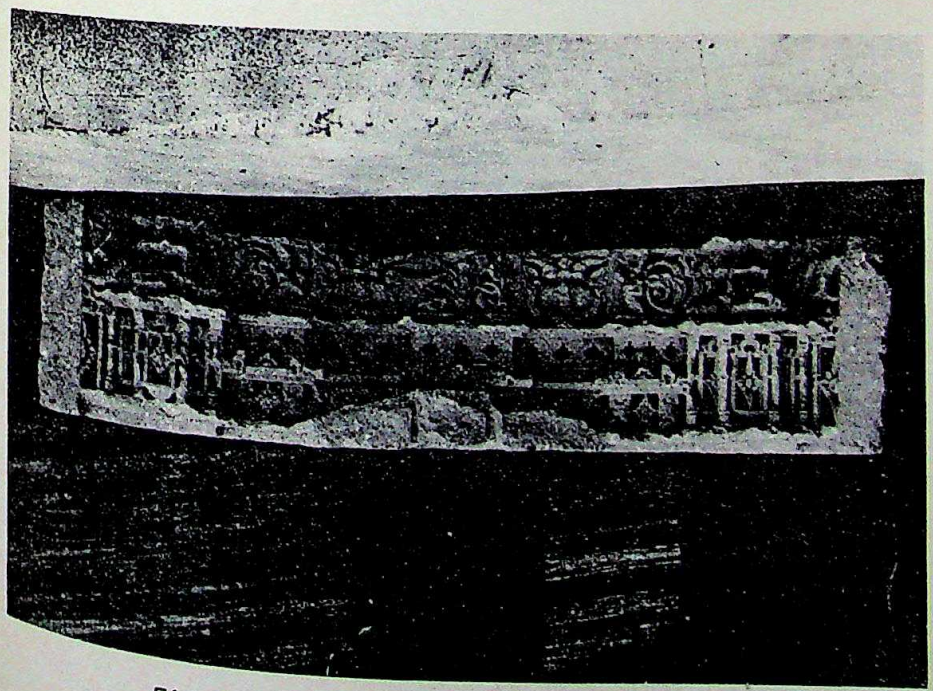

Fig. 2. Architectural fragment, Hansi

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Fig. 3. Dvārapālī and Dvārapāla, Rohtak

Fig. 4. Kubera and Hāriti, Rohtak

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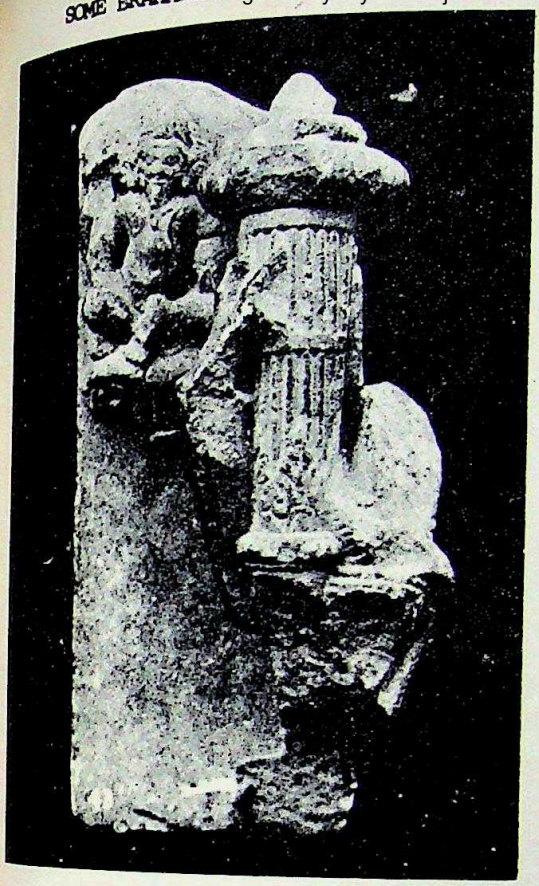

Fig. 5. Fragment of an arm holding a mace, Rohtak

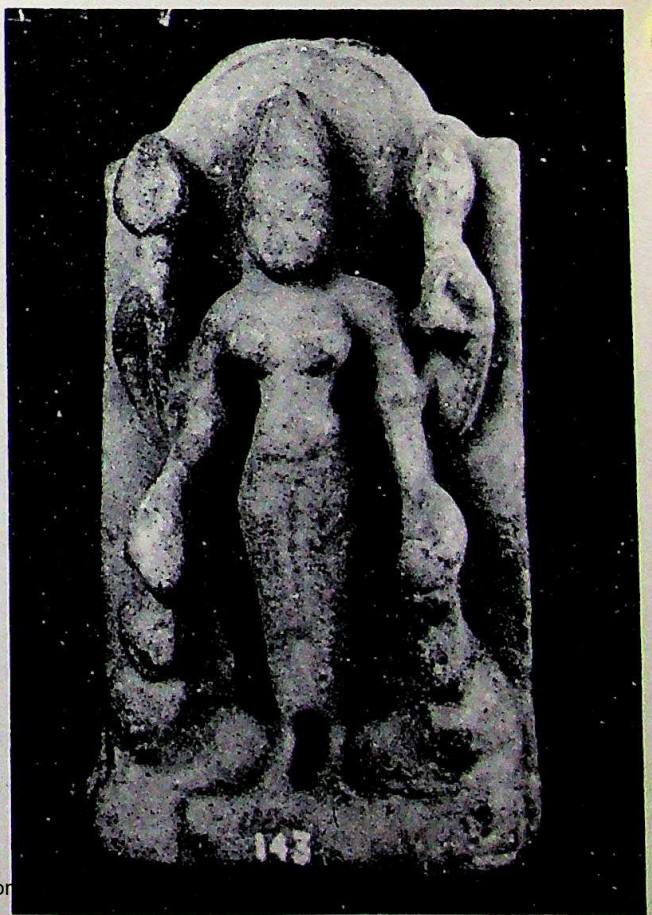

Fig. 6. Goddess Durgā, Bohr, Rohtak

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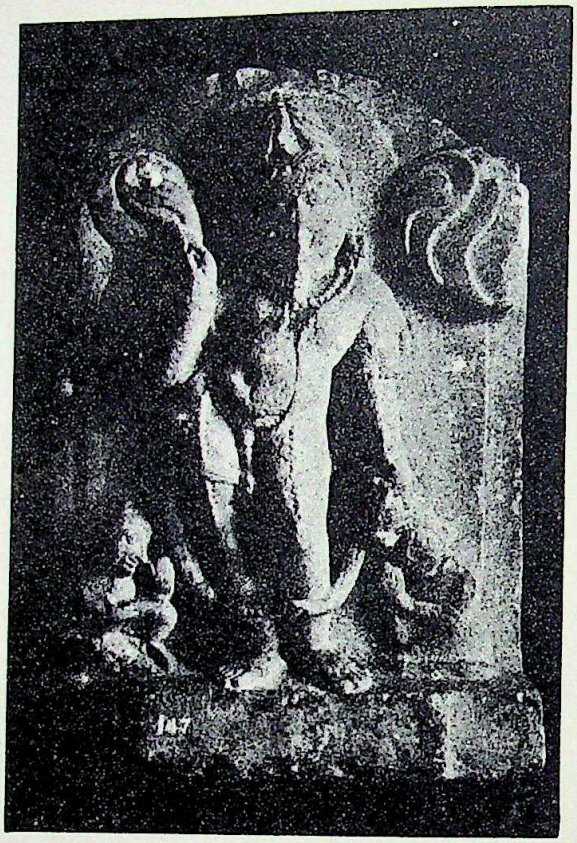

Fig. 7. Agni, Bohr, Rohtak

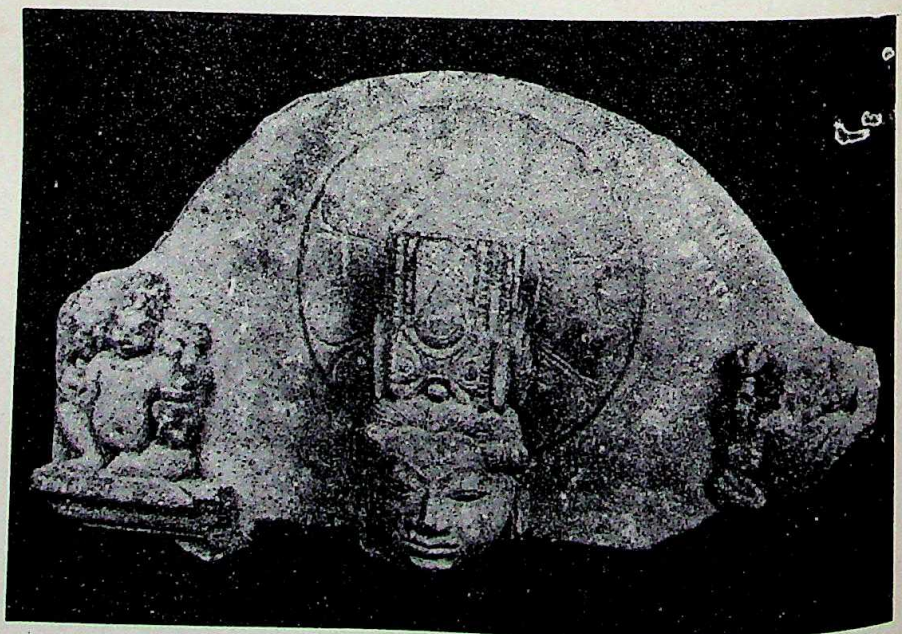

Fig. 8. Head of Vishńu, Pinjore

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Fig. 9. Part of a Pillar with Varāha Avatāra, Pinjore

Fig. 10. Architectural fragment

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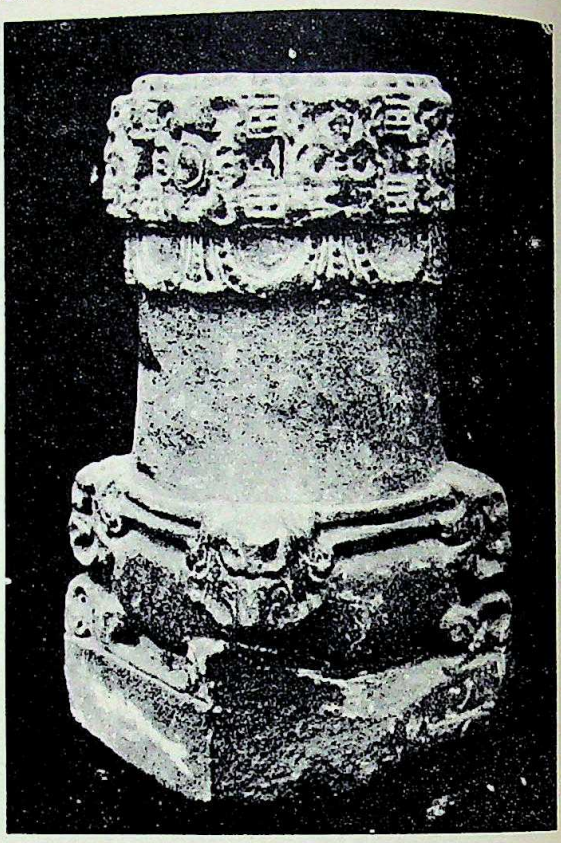

Fig. 11. Part of a Pillar, Murti

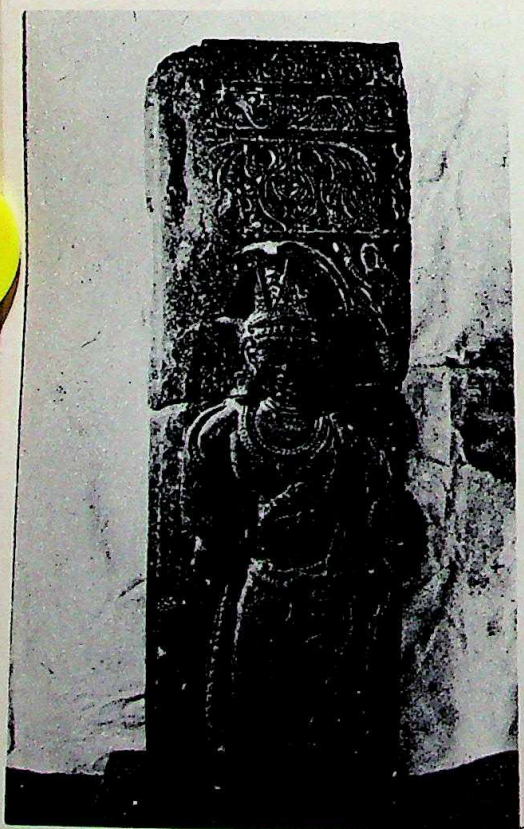

Fig. 12. Kārttikeya, Kangra

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Fig. 13. Sūrya, Baijnath [Kangra]

Fig. 14. Gaṇeśa, Kangra

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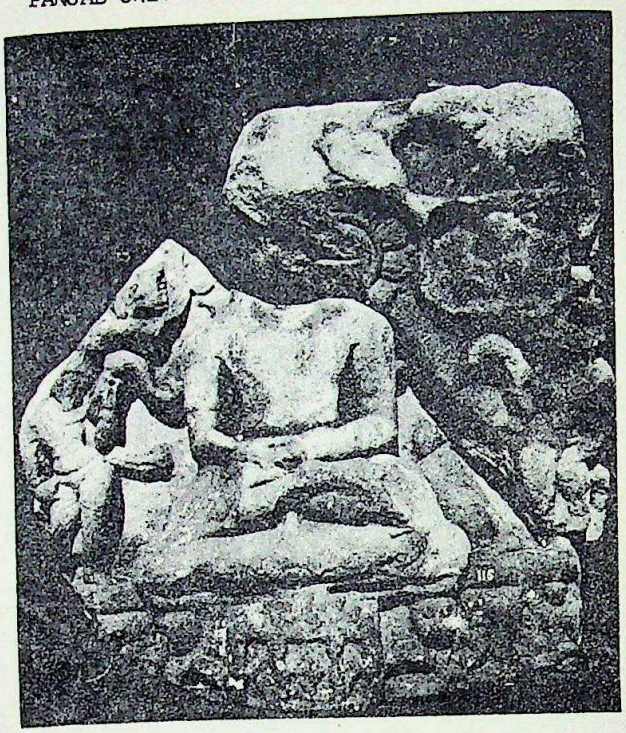

Fig. 15. Tīrthaṅkara, Kangra

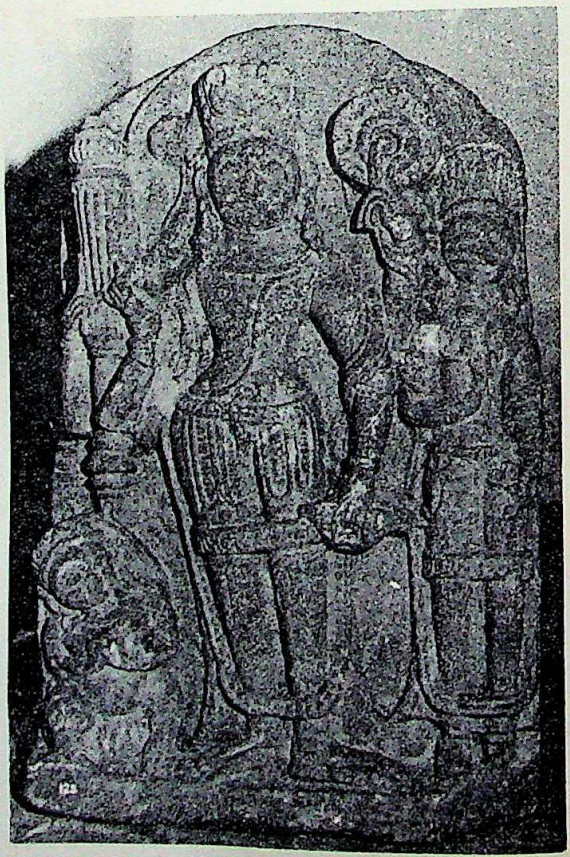

Fig. 16. Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, Kangra

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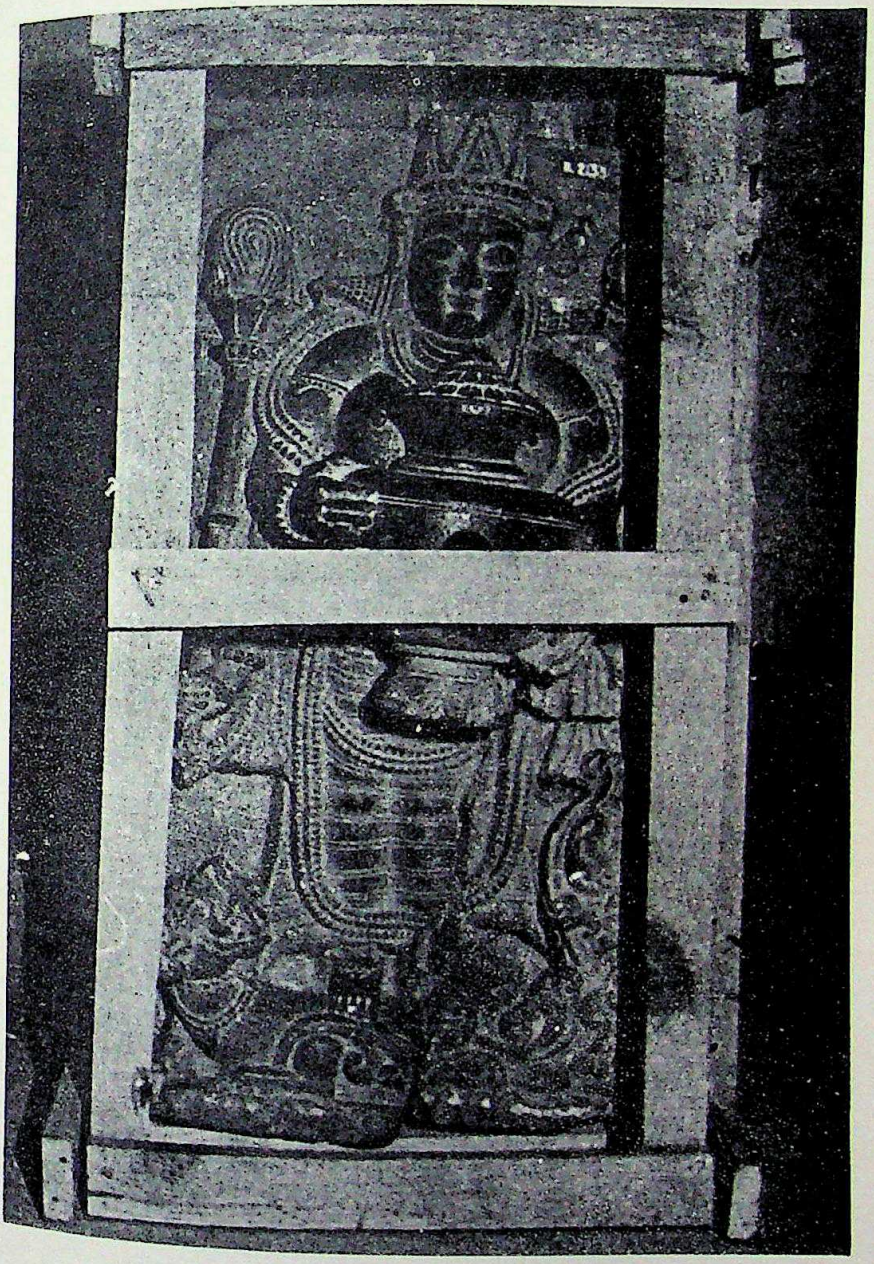

Fig. 17. Goddess Gaṅgā, Bajaura [Kulu]

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Fig. 18. Varāha Avatāra, Bajaura [Kulu]

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THE ROLE OF THE FAMILY OF NIZAMUDDIN ALI KHALIFA UNDER BABUR

Yog Raj Malhotra

In the Mughal period we often notice various families in the Mughal service. It was not only the individuals but many members of the family simultaneously in Mughal service. Many such families can be identified in Babur's service. One such family was that of Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa. The family of Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa was one of the most important Central Asian families who helped Babur in the expansion and consolidation of his empire in Hindustan. Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa along his brother Sultan Junaid Barlas, sons Husamuddin Ali Khalifa, Muhibb-i-Ali and Hasan[1] served Babur not only in Central Asia but also in Afghanistan and Hindustan. Khwaja Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa was the son of Sultan Junaid Barlas, one of the nobles of Sultan Husain Mirza of Khurasan.[2] Nizamuddin Khalifa held the post of Wakil under Babur.[3] We first notice Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa in Babur's service in Central Asia in the year 1495 when he was sent by Babur as an envoy to Shaikh Zunun Arghun who was incharge of Auratipa on the behalf of Babur's cousin Sultan Ali Mirza asking him to surrender the fort to Babur. But he was arrested by Zunun Arghun who ordered for his execution. Khalifa, however, managed to escape and return to Babur.[4] In 1497 Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa also accompanied Babur in his expedition to Samarqand. After the loss of Andijan to Jahangir Mirza, younger brother of Babur, and the loss of Samarqand, Khalifa was sent towards Tashkant.[5]

In the year 1499-1500 we once again notice Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa in atendance upon Babur. But due to the rivalry with Ali Dost he was dismissed by Ali Dost, one of the nobles of Babur, and Babur was forced to part with his company.[6]

We notice Khalifa serving Babur in Kabul, we can not say as to when did he join Babur's service in Kabul. In 1506 when Babur went to Khurasan he was one of the commanders who was left in Kabul by Babur. Later on during Babur's absence from Kabul when some of the nobles, namely Muhammand Husain Dughlut and Sanjar Barlas, revolted against Babur and made Mirza Khan, a cousin of Babur, as Padsah, Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa alongwith other nobles defended the fort of Kabul and saved it from the rebels.[7]

Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa also accompanied Babur in his expedition to Bhira. Khalifa served Babur in the left wing during his attach on

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Bhira.[8] Later in the same year after the conquest of Bhira, when Bhira was divided into four *sarkars* in order to collect the *mal-i-amam*, Khalifa was appointed to one of the *sarkars*.[9] On September 3rd 1519 Babur visited the house of Khalifa in Kabul and broke the Ramzan fast at his residence. Khalifa on this occasion offered *asp-i-zindar* to Babur.[10]

Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa accompanied Babur in his final expedition to Hindustan in the year 1525-26. In January 1526, Khalifa alongwith his Hazara and Afghan followers besieged Alam Khan in the fort of Ginguta.[11] Later he was sent against Hamid Khan of Hisar Firoza.[12] Khalifa also served Babur in *dast-i-chap-ghul* (left hand of the centre) in the battle of Panipat.[13]

We are told by the author of *Tarikh-i-Shahi* that after the battle of Panipat, Amir Khalifa alongwith Dilawar Khan and Jahangir Quli was appointed to bury Ibrahim's body.[14] After the battle of Panipat Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa alongwith other begs, was sent to watch the treasures in Delhi and Agra. He alongwith Amir Quli was given by Ibrahim's mother the list of articles which were in the fort. They sent this list of articles of Babur.[15]

Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa also rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah. According to Babur, "Khalifa did well in this campaign, neglecting nothing of control and supervision, painstaking and diligence."[16]

In January 1528, Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa also served Babur in his expedition to Chanderi.[17] In December, 1528 he was present at a feast held at Agra and was given a seat at the right side of Babur alongwith Tuqta Bugha Sultan and Mirza Askari.[18]

In January 1529 when Babur was at Dholpur Khalifa redirected the letters received from Qazi Zia and Bir Singh Deo to Babur reporting that Sultan Mahmud Lodi had captured Bihar.[19] Babur immediately returned to Agra. After consultation with his nobles when Babur marched against Sultan Mahmud Lodi, Khalifa also accompanied Babur.[20]

In August 1529 we notice Khalifa intervening between Babur and Rahimdad when the latter had revolted at Gwaliar. Khalifa prevented Babur from leading an expedition against Rahimdad and personally sent letters to Rahimdad to sort out the matter.[21] But in 1529 Khalifa refrained from complying with Babur's orders by refusing to go to Badakshan when it was invaded by Sultan Said Khan. Babur ultimately sent Sulaiman Mirza.[22] Nizamuddin Khalifa is also charged by Abul Fazl with a conspiracy to supersede Humayun's candidature to the

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throne of Delhi by supporting the candidature of Mahdi Khwaja brother-in-law of Babur. But later on Khalifa agreed to Humayun's candidature.[23]

We also notice Khalifa's brother Sultan Junaid Barlas in Babur's service. We notice him serving Babur only in Hindustan though he is first mentioned in Babur's memoirs in the year 900 A.H. (1494-95) in the context of Sultan Baisunghar Mirza's (son of Sultan Mahmud Mirza uncle of Babur) conflict with Sultan Mahmud Khan, a maternal uncle of Babur over Samarqand. Sultan Junaid Barlas alongwith some of the leading men of Samarqand, supported Sultan Mahmud Khan against Sultan Baisunghar Mirza.[24] We can not say when did he join Babur's service. We first notice him serving Babur on January 7, 1526, when after the conquest of Malot fort, he was ordered to enter the fort of Malot alongwith some other nobles and take possession of the treasures in the fort.[25] On April 1st 1526 Sultan Junaid Barlas alongwith other *begs* was sent from Sarsawa against Daud Khan and Hatim Khan Lodi, who had been sent by Ibrahim Lodi with a force of 5000 to 6000 men in Mian-i-Doab. They defeated the enemy and captured Hatim Khan. He was brought to Babur alongwith 60-70 prisoners and 6 to 7 elephants. Most of the prisoners were killed.[26] Sultan Junaid Barlas was one of the commanders of the expeditionary force of 4000 to 5000 men which was sent to deliver a night attack on Ibrahim Lodi's camp in April 1526.[27] In the battle of Panipat Sultan Junaid Barlas served Babur in the Jaranghar (left).[28] After the battle of Panipat on April 20, 1526 Sultan Junaid Barlas alongwith other begs was sent to Delhi. They were ordered to make sudden incursion on Delhi and to keep watch over the treasures.[29]

After the occupation of Agra, Dholpur was conferred upon Sultan Junaid Barlas and he alongwith other begs was sent for the conquest of Dholpur.[30] But this expedition was recalled and ordered to join Humayun at Chandwar in latter's march against Nasir Khan Nohani and other Afghans. Accordingly, Junaid Barlas joined Humayun[31] and served him in his eastern expedition. After the conquest of Jaunpur, Sultan Junaid Barlas alongwith Shah Mir Husain was appointed with a contingent of soldiers at Jaunpur by Humayun as per Babur's direction.[32] In December, 1528 when Askari Mirza was appointed towards east Babur sent orders through Ghiasuddin the *Qurchi* to Sultan Junaid Barlas and other amirs whose assignments were in the east, ordering them to join Askari.[33] Later Babur himself moved towards east and on April 8, 1529, when Babur was encamped at Ari (Arrah Pargana) Sultan Junaid Barlas came from Jaunpur with Jaunpuri braves. As he reached later Babur refused to see him.[34] Sultan Junaid Barlas also rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra.[35]

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He was given the charge of one of the divisions of the army alongwith Musa Farmuli a son of Maruf Farmuli when the forces to the north of Ganges were formed into four divisions.[36] On May 24, 1529, Sultan Junaid Barlas alongwith other begs was appointed against Mian Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid who has fled towards Lakhnau. Later on he was assigned Chunar in place of Jaunpur and, alongwith other begs, was ordered to block Mian Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid road at Chunar.[37] But it seems that Chunar remained in possession of Taj Khan Sarang Khani during Babur's reign, for we know from *Tarikh-i-Sher-Shahi* that Sher Khan Sur took possession of Chunur from the widow of Taj Khan Sarang Khani.[38]

We also notice Khalifa's sons namely Muhibb-i-Ali, Husamuddin Ali and Hasan serving Babur in Hindustan. We first notice Muhibb-i-Ali in the year 1526 when he alongwith other begs was sent from Panipat to deliver a night attack on Ibrahim Lodi's camp with a force of 4000 to 5000 men. But they could not succeeded in their mission and returned to Babur.[39] Muhibb-i-Ali rendered military service to Babur in *dast-i-chap-i-ghul* (left hand to centre) in the battle of Panipat.[40] Before the battle of Kanwah Muhibb-i-Ali alongwith the retainers of Khalifa was sent to reinforce the scouting party of Abdul Aziz and Mulla Apaq who had come into conflict with the forces of Rana Sanga.[41] Muhibb-i-Ali also served Babur in *dasti-i-chap-i-ghul* in the battle of Kanwah.[42] In March 1528 Muhibb-i-Ali alongwith other begs was sent in the pursuit of Mian Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid from Qanauz under the command of Sultan Chin Timur.[43] This is the last reference to Muhibb-i-Ali in Babur's service.

The other son, Husamuddin Ali, is first noticed in Babur's service in the year 1528 when he alongwith begs was sent in pursuit of Mian Bibban, Shaikh Bayzid and Maruf Farmuli.[44] In the year 1529 he came from Alwar and waited upon Babur.[45] However, there is only one reference to Hasan in Babur's service in Hindustan. We notice Hasan in Babur's service in the year 1529 when he along with other begs was sent to join Baqi Beg against Mian Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid.[46]

Thus we notice that the family of Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa rendered meritorious military services to Babur not only in central Asia but also in Hindustan and helped him to consolidate his empire in Hindustan. But it is interesting to note that except Sultan Junaid Barlas no other member of the family was given any revenue assignment. After the battle of Panipat, Dholpur was given to Sultan Junaid Barlas and he alongwith other begs was sent for its conquest. But later on Sultan Junaid Barlas was ordered to join Hamayun in his expedition towards east. Therefore, the conquest of Dholpur was postponed for a

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time. In the year 1527 after the conquest of Jaunpur, Sultan Junaid Barlas was left there by Humayun. Later on when Jaunpur was given to Sultan Muhammad Zaman Mirza he was given Chunar. We do not find any revenue assignment given to Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa. It seems that Babur must have fixed his *wajh* in cash.

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10. *Ibid.,* B.M. Or. 3714, p. 334b
11. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari, op. cit.,* p. 6.
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15. *Ibid.,* p. 115.
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18. *Ibid.,* p. 631, B.M. Or. 3714, f. 490b.
19. *Ibid.,* p. 639, B.M. Or. 3714, f. 497a.
20. *Ibid.,* p. 666, B.M. Or. 3714, f. 506b.
21. *Ibid.,* p. 689, B.M. Or. 3714, f. 528a.
22. *Akbarnama, op. cit.,* p. 274, Persian text, p. 115.

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23. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, pp. 276-77, For details of conspiracy see *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., pp. 28-29, *Tarikh-i-Shahi, op. cit., pp. 130-31, Maathir-ul-Umara*, Eng. tr. vol. ii, Part I (Janki Prakashan Patna, 1979) pp. 220-21.

24. *Baburnama, op. cit.*, pp. 52 & 111.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 460; his name is missing in B.M. Or. 3714.

26. *Baburnama, op. cit.*, pp. 467-68, B.M. Or. 3714, f. 36 3b *Akbarnama op. cit.*, p. 241; *Tarikh-i-Firishta, op. cit.*, p. 28; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. p. 439, *Tarikh-i-Alfi, op. cit.*, p. 634.

27. *Baburnama, op. cit.*, p. 471 B.M. Or 3714, p. 365b.

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32. *Baburnama, op. cit.*, p. 544, B.M. Or. 3714, f. 434a, *Akbarnama, op. cit.* p. 258; *Tarikh-i-Firishta, op. cit.*, p. 34; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, op. cit.*, p. 446, *Tarikh-i-Alfi, op. cit.*, p. 640.

33. *Baburnama, op. cit.*, p. 628, B.M. Or. 3714, f. 489a.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 667, B.M. Or. 3714, f. 507b.

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SECTION-V

Psychology

Meena Sehgal & Alka Sharma .. Managerial Role Stress in Relation to Personality, Motive, Managerial Styles, Organizational Climate and Job Satisfaction.

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MANAGERIAL ROLE STRESS IN RELATION TO PERSONALITY, MOTIVES, MANAGERIAL STYLES, ORGANIZATIONAL CLIMATE AND JOB SATISFACTION

Meena Sehgal and Alka Sharma

Abstract

A study of Managerial Role stress in relation to Personality, Motives, Managerial styles Organizational Climate and Job satisfaction was executed to analyse the complex phenomenon of Managerial Role Stress and its correlates on a sample of fifty subjects. The results were interpreted and discussed with particular reference to this new concern of the organizational psychologists.

In the recent years many major changes have taken place in organizational psychology in terms of the selection of problem for systematic probing. The manager has been considered to be the key to the organizational accomplishment (1970). With the realization of the importance of stress (Selye, 1956), managerial role stress models were developed by Kahn (1970), House (1980) and others. It comprised of (a) Social conditions, (b) perceived stress (c) responses to stress (d) enduring outcomes of stress and (e) individual and situational (conditioning) variables influencing the relationships among these factors.

Personality has been considered as a major correlate of the role stress. Personality as defined by Eysenck (1976) as 'more or less stable and enduring organization of a person's character, temperament, intellect and physique which determines his unique adjustment to the environment' has been included in this study. Motives, as measured by Misra & Tripathi (1980) in terms of Achievement, Power, Affiliation and Approval and proposal by Atkinson and others were considered to be the motivational factors associated with Managerial stress. Managerial styles — according to Hersey and Blanchard (1985) — of an individual is the behaviour pattern that a person exhibits when attempting to influence the activities of others as perceived by others. This has been reported to have defined the relationship with the other dimensions of managerial behavior. In addition, the organizational climate — the characteristic of the organization as perceived by its members—has been taken to ba a major situational factor responsible for the managerial role stress. As a personal variable job satisfaction has been viewed as one of the most relevant correlate of stress. Srivastava (1974) defined it as the attitudes people hold toward their job.

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Thus the present study included certain personal and occupational variables as correlates of role stress among managers.

Method

The sample included male middle level managers of private organizations, in the age range of 30 to 40 years.

The following standardized tests were used in the study:

1. Managerial Role Stress Inventory (Ravi Kumar, 1984).
2. Eysenck Personality Questionnaire (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1975).
3. Questionnaire measures of needs (Misra & Tripathi, 1980).
4. Reddin's Managerial Position Analysis Test (Reddin 1985)
5. Organizational Climate Measure (Sinha, 1980).
6. A Scale of Job Satisfaction by Lahiri & Srivastava (1967).

Results and Discussion

The date was processed to yield the means and SDs on each of the variables (Table 1) which gives a profile of the middle level manager.

Table-I

	M	*S.D.*
Role Stress	58.22	7.29
Extraversion	12.88	4.21
Neuroticism	9.38	3.87
Psychoticism	5.42	3.22
Social Desirability	10.79	4.29
Need — Achievement	4.26	1.77
Need — Power	4.01	2.22
Need — Affiliation	3.78	3.02
Need — Approval	2.26	1.21
Deserter style	13.12	4.12
Missionary style	20.83	5.24
Autocrat style	20.14	4.17
Compromiser style	20.02	3.92
Bureaucrat style	15.84	3.22
Developer style	23.11	4.78
Benevolent — Autocrat style	11.22	4.03
Executive style	12.19	3.88
Authoritarian Climate	55.21	6.22
Authoritative Climate	50.37	5.71
Job satisfaction	204.24	30.27

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Broadly he appeared to be extraverted, high on neuroticism and social desirability. With high needs for achievement and power; with a high Develope missionary and autocrat style of leadership, working under greater authoritarian climate and not too high job satisfaction.

The correlation between role stress and Neuroticism, Social Desirability, Need for Achievement, Need for Power, Develope/ Missionary/Autocrat styles of Leadership; Authoritarian Climate and low job satisfaction were found to be significant at .05 level.

Though these results partially follow the trend reported by Ravi Kumar (1984), Sinha (1950), Mohan & Jahangir (1984) and Mohan & Bali (1988), the broad generalization could be possible only with a larger sample.

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SECTION-VI

Views & Reviews

Jitendra Mohan .. *Modernisation & Development* by S.C. Dube,1988,New Delhi : Vistaar Publications, Rs. 125, Rs. 55 (paperback) pp. 144.

Behavioural Research in Sexuality, by H.G. Ganguli, 1988 New Delhi : Vikas Publications.

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MODERNISATION & DEVELOPMENT BY S.C. DUBE 1988. NEW DELHI : VISTAAR PUBLICATIONS. Rs. 125/-, Rs. 55/- (Paperback), pp. 144.

Jitendra Mohan

This remarkable publication—The search for Alternative Paradigmes—as a study on Socio-cultural Development alternatives in A Changung World in a series of he United Nations University brings two important concepts into focus of analysis.

The subtle and deft handling of both modernization and development by a distinugished social scientist in explaining the dilemmas through the two keywords - in terms of Traditional, Transitional and Modernized and Underdeveloped, Developing and Developed - is very penetrating. The discussion on the nature and the futuristic limit of 21st century amplified the challenge to the much proclaimed creative rationality of humanity.

Modernization is reconsidered in terms of its attributes and indicators; barriers and breakdowns; ambiguities and inadequacies environmental constraints and the global context.

The Development is reconsidered with regards to economic explanations, voices of dissent and utopias.

The social development : Human Needs and Quality of Life is a very distinctive feature followed by providing analysis of the parameters of policy. The framework of action includes conscientization, affirmative action and institution building.

The bibliography appended to this book is a valuable material for all those interested in research and planning in the areas of modernization and Development.

The summing-up reaches philosophical heights as well as practical insight when it ends to state "Development today poses a challenge & presents an opportunity, urgent reflection and action are needed for one very survival is at stake. Modernization is not possible on the basis of its original paradigm which implicitly legitimizes inequality & injustice.

The production values are excellent and the price of paper back is fair.

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BEHAVIOURAL RESEARCH IN SEXUALITY by H.C. GANGULI, 1988, NEW DELHI : VIKAS PUBLICATIONS.

Jitendra Mohan

When the author writes that next only to the topic of God or perhaps at par with it sex and sexuality constitute a topic that has been the cause of excitement and ecstasy, of fear and anxiety, of confusion and uncertainty of men, women and societies at all times, it is implied that a psychologist of reckoning has reached a level where he would like to attend to one or the other with his range of experience, maturity and depth of understanding.

In a systematic detail of the sex drive; sexual behaviour-foreplay, techniques. and orgasm; love & sex and normal and abnormal sexual behaviour, the background is developed.

An illustrative study, with a well developed tool given to 25 subjects in the final form issues related to sexual maturity, sex education, and sexual practice were included. Five case histories have also been included. The population consisted of teaching, non-teaching staff and students of Delhi University.

Some major issues like sexual abstinence, contraception and religion, sexual revolution and sexual harassment have been discussed in length and with logic.

The book, a welcome addition to this area of neglect in academic research pursuits raises some basic issues. Notwithstanding a very detailed tool and very few subjects, the expectation is raised with regard to the solution to the problem of overpopulation in India. May be a postscript or a comprehensive chapter on the conclusions would have added additional height to this commendable work.

The publication values of this volume are good and as a serious attempt into a major area of human interest it will be useful for the teachers, students and researchers in the field of sexual behaviour.

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HUMANISM AND DESPERATION : ANGUS WILSON'S *THE MULBERRY BUSH*

Jaidev

The name of Angus Wilson is firmly linked with the tradition of liberal humanism in post-1945 Britain. His fiction seeks to be a critique of the once-glorious tradition. Inspired by his deep wish for its functional survival in the modern world, the critique acknowledges the fact that several conditions of possibility no longer exist for liberal humanism. For reasons, some external but others inbuilt in it, liberal humanism has been rendered a more or less lost cause. This may be regrettable but is not wholly strange, considering how notorious our period has been for suddenly collapsing value-systems to which one might have devoted a whole lifetime not only out of strong personal convictions but also because till only yesterday, as it were, they looked infallible. In any case, liberal humanism has not collapsed all that suddenly; in fact, its decline has been steady since World War I. Many critics have noted that Wilson's commitment to its values is often tinged with a sense of depression.[1] Behind this depression lies his recognition of several flaws in the practice and character of his liberal humanist characters. As well as his harsh depiction of all those external tendencies in the modern world which pose a threat to liberal humanism, his bitter recognition of flaws in these characters constitutes a prominent feature of his critique. His exploration of the hell within the humanists also introduces considerable psychological depth in his fiction.

However, the failure of liberal humanism to address itself and be responsive to the vast majority of people the world over, whose priorities and predicaments are naturally very different from those of the customary adherents – the failure which some would regard as its Achilles heel – has always constituted its most problematic aspect. The failure has not been wilful, but is actually inbuilt in it, informs its structure of feeling, and is not resolved by rhetoric or gestures, as one can see in, say, Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*. Wilson recognises the problem, but it has been difficult for him to tackle it. This is not at all a criticism of Wilson; rather, it is to recognize the impasse this failure constitutes for liberal humanism, for all along it seems to have lacked a programme which could broaden its appeal. Clearly related to this problem is its equally problematic distrust of politics and political causes, though one can say that liberal humanism too implies a political position. Both these aspects have become more and more crucial in the modern world,

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and it is reasonable to argue that in part, Wilson's desperation comes from his recognition that its rather limited class appeal has been for it something of a severe handicap. This recognition is there in Wilson, but usually it does not come to the foreground in his work, even when it depicts problems of class divisions or of the Third World. His desperation springs from these aspects as well, but since his work does not focus clearly or closely on these, the manifestations of this desperation occur in three ways. First, unable to problematize liberal humanism itself, he still offers a legitimate, satiric portrait of a world grown inhospitable to it. This is to say that the liberal values allow Wilson a stance for observing and judging the world. Secondly, he mercilessly punishes his liberal humanist characters for any flaws in their conduct or motivation, and if, notwithstanding his eventual compassion for them, his punishing of them is disproportionate to their flaws, this must be because his bitterness over the structural 'flaws' in liberal humanism spills onto the personal and therefore limited failures of his liberal humanists. So that at times these characters appear to be more sinned against than sinning.[2] Liberal humanism has been a matter of faith to Wilson, and it is not difficult to understand why, rather than recognizing the limitations in the faith itself, he should prefer to act as a terrible scourge to his liberal humanists. Still, the practice is somewhat unfair, because apart from glossing over the limitations inherent in the faith itself, he makes a grandiloquent assumption according to which all that is getting to be wrong with the world today is mostly due to the failure of liberal humanists to live up to their faith, when clearly the changes in the world are multi-factorial and can hardly be explained so simply. What is involved here is a problem of interpreting contemporary history, although as far as his work is concerned, this overloading of individuals with responsibility, guilt and punishment makes it extremely moral as well as psychologically intense. What it amounts to is this : nothing fails like failure in the Castle Faithful of liberal humanism. One wonders if the Calvinist streak in Wilson is not responsible for this kind of a stance towards his 'admittedly' flawed liberal humanists. Still, this overjudging and overpunishing stance needs to be seen as a manifestation of his desperation which, unable to question certain basic premises of the faith, turns upon the only available targets. Finally, and most peculiarly, sometimes this desperation shows a leniency towards the adversaries of liberal humanism which is as unjust as his harshness towards the humanists. It is almost like assuming that since the liberal humanists have not been perfect, they must be so utterly imperfect that even the so-called villains would be better, or at least more defensible. This would suggest not desperation, but despair. This position is normally not taken in his novels where, because of availability of space, he can depict the villains in all their evil; so that the liberal humanists, even when they are thoroughly battered and crippled, do appear qualitatively better than the villains. His play *The Mulberry Bush* remains extraordinary because here

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this position appears central rather than peripheral, and, alternating with the second position as it does, it generates a structure that is virtually 'loaded' against liberal humanism. This paper discusses the structure, along with its peculiarities, and then describes the routes Wilson's desperation takes.

I

The Mulberry Bush was first staged at Old Vic, Bristol in October 1955; here it was a moderate success. Next year, in a revised version, the play was staged to inaugurate the English Stage Company at the Royal Court Theatre, London. The revision had involved dropping two characters, and the play did not succeed.[3] Its successors, *The Crucible* and *Look Back in Anger*, fared better; the latter, of course, was an event both in the history of English culture and English theatre. *The Mulberry Bush* convinced Wilson that his forte was fiction, not drama. The play is often brilliant in its satire and wit, but there is much truth in Eric Rhode's description of it as a novelist's play : "Wilson appears constricted by his form. Too much happens in this plot and too little of it is developed."[4] One is also likely to feel that often conceptualization is offered as a substitute for human warmth.[5] The introduction of symbolism, through the Pan statute and the old, ugly-looking mulberry tree in the garden of the Padleys, is not only unnecessary but also contrary to the play's overall aspiration to belong to the genre of well-made plays which does not allow departures from "probable modes of realistic existence in a conventional society."[6]

The Mulberry Bush is structured around a series of meetings in the official residence of the Padleys – now upside down, for they are packing up, following the retirement of Professor James Padley, a distinguished historian and humanist. from the wardenship of an Oxbridge college. Each meeting turns out to be a blow to the Padleys' faith in reason, tolerance, progress, and basic decencies. In the original version, the opening scene is laid in the rooms of James Padley's most promising research assistant, Peter Lord. Here the Padleys had invited the new Warden and his wife to drinks. These are anti-humanists in that he, Sir Richard Heppell, is pompous, commercial in approach, and power-loving while his wife is an "Australian who made woolly animals for a hobby."[7] The Padleys successors are illiberal and vulgar and this, according to the Padleys, bodes ill for the liberal tradition which they have passionately upheld during their stay in the college. Their only hope is that the college will still have Peter Lord to defend the tradition. Rose says, "What's far more important is that the college will need decent, liberal-minded people [like Peter] now James is going" (p. 29). This is wishful thinking, for Peter, who comes from the working class, has no desire to spend his life defending this tradition. He is determined to take an administrative job with the Ministry of Education. He is concerned over the way history is taught in schools, and would like to use his power to reform its teaching. The

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power factor has always appeared distasteful to the Padleys, and it is another blow to them that their cherished protege should go after power. In fact, James Padley has also been hoping that Peter will accompany him to Harvard where he is planning to take a stand against the McCarthyte witch-hunting of his fellow-academics. America as a nation is turning too fond of power, and James Padley feels there is need for liberal humanism to oppose this trend. The odds are against humanists like him. Indeed, it is possible that he will be seen fit only for jokes and caricatures Kurt, a Jewish refugee brought up in the home of the Padleys, is keen to accompany James to America, but ironically for very different and illiberal purposes. He is interested in power and America represents power : "I must spend much time there to understand it all, to see what makes the new masters work, all their brutality, and their high-mindedness and what do the English like to call it ? the naivete of the New Caesars. . . . I must know about the *real* power, but first I must get there" (p. 47). Ironically, this victim of Nazism is not without sympathy for some of the neo-Fascist tendencies that are emerging in the 1950s. Another protegee of the Padleys, Wendy Tellick, is sexually repressed, neurotic, and paranoid. She is desperately in love with Simon, her former schoolmate and the son of Cora Fellowes, James Padley's daughter. Wendy's neurotic misery stems from Simon's commitment to Ann, James Padley's young grand daughter. Wendy spares no one : Cora has smothered Simon by excessive mothering, Kurt is Jewish and therefore filth, and thePadley's tolerance is a sham : "[There's also a limit] to patronage. Even from saints. You and your holy Robert ! A lot of hypocritical, dirty minded beasts ! I know" (p. 33). Simon, Cora's barrister-son, would have preferred to be an army officer, but the Padleys' pacifism came in the way. He has little sympathy for the liberal cause, for its decent notions have little relevance to the kind of realities he encounters daily in the court. He often gets drunk, gets into brawls, and is a flirt. His problem is that while he sees little virtue in liberal humanism, he yet finds it difficult to overcome his guilt over his disrespect towards it. Simon realizes that liberal humanism is a dying cause. He feels that its attachment to its own past is not very pleasant; it is like "a family tomb with wreaths that are beginning to smell a bit rank" (p. 44). Simon has no vision of the future, no direction to take; and he feels that the Padley code has been responsible for his predicament. He warns Wendy against trusting or idolising him.

> That's been the Padley trouble, being believed in and looked up to. We've been surrounded here by the worship of all the ghastly people the family has done good to, until you can't breathe for the stinking incense of their offerings. Good God ! Aren't you sick of the sound of the anthems that have been sung ever since uncle Robert died of his little stroke ? It's to late, my girl. He was the one to do people *good*. Look up to *him*, if you can look high enough. I expect he's been lifted to the Heaven he didn't believe in. But don't look up to me, not me, for God's

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sake ! I haven't got what it takes. I'm the Padley to end all Padleys. (P.62-63).

Simon's betrayal of the code is the more shattering because the family has always assumed that he would be marrying Ann. The marriage would presumably compensate for the wrong done by his mother, Cora, who not only married a businessman but also has never been very attached to the code.

The Padleys' grand-daughter, Ann, is the lone hope we see for the decent tradition. She is the spokesperson for it, although there is something automatic about the way she enumerates its values; but then she seems to have no doubt about their rightness. This is largely due to the fact that these values are supposed to have found their best expression in her recently-dead father, Robert Padley, whose memory is very dear to her. Ann also illustrates certain crucial contradictions of liberal humanism. Trained not to view people in terms of their social or class origins, she minds it when others refer to class although she herself has class perceptions.[8] She does not like careerists, bureaucrats, politicians, and has always taken her house to be the Castle Faithful of liberal humanism. Like her, her grandparents, too, are extremely devoted to the memory of Robert Padley who constitutes the family myth of liberal humanism. He seems to have been the perfect humanist, the most fulfilled man, the best son, the best father, the best husband, the ideal citizen, and so on. Rose, for example, flares up when Wendy includes Robert Padley in her attack on the Padleys : "We've wanted to give you a home. If we've failed, well, those of us who believe in freedom and tolerance are used to failure nowadays. But you mustn't talk against *Robert's* work, my dear, that was something far beyond any of us, just as Robert himself was" (p. 31). Kurt, her protege, at once joins in the anthem and quotes from *The Times* obituary: "No one in these last fifty years did more than Robert Padley to educate young people to use their leisure hours to enrich their lives." Rose takes up the strain once again and calls Robert "the complete man of the world" and "the most fulfilled man I have ever known" (p. 31). The result is that Ann always treats her late father as the paradigm of man : "Daddy *was* on the right side" (p. 43). This refrain is in line with her total devotion to the Padleys as a 'tribe' : "The Padleys are right, not the others" (p. 35). Even her 'love' for Simon is due to the fact that "Daddy was so fond of you, admired you so much" (p. 43). The grandparents, of course, have known for some time that even Robert Padley was less than perfect or honest, but they have not revealed the embarrassing truth to Ann because, as Rose tells Peter, "She worships him, Peter ; she thinks of him as everything that was direct and honest. And so he was, of course. This thing is only something that happened to him, not a part of Robert himself" (p. 37). Rose's 'This thing' refers to Robert's extended affair with a woman, and Rose's dismissive phrase shows that rather than modifying the image of her late son, she would negate the embarrassing truth.

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Wendy in her acute neurotic misery resolves to damage the Padleys, especially Ann; and her knowledge about 'This something' comes handy to her. On his part, Kurt decides to shatter Ann, too, because Peter, who secretly loves Ann, has refused to advance his case for accompanying James Padley to America. Individually, these two, Wendy and Kurt, take to intrigue, and as a result, in Act II, two strangers 'intrude' into the uneasy but relatively complacent house of the Padley myth. Mrs. Geraldine Loughton-Moore has been called by Wendy to see Ann, and Kurt has called Captain Wallcott to share with the family his memories of the 'great man', the late Robert Padley, who had actually ruined Wallcott's career over a silly girl. The strangers' revelations shatter Ann badly. She feels bitter also because she was not trusted with the truth by her grandparents. She is disillusioned with the facade of humanism which she now sees as a form of evasion, for it has been used for covering unpleasant skeletons : "I've lived with these lies long enough. [Imitating ROSE] 'This is Castle Faithful. We have faith here. 'Well' thank God, my faith has gone. Courage and Pity and Tolerance ! It's all a squalid sham !" (p. 84). Ann also realizes that by resolutely clinging to the past, including the faith called liberal humanism, the Padleys have been Peter Pans, refusing to grow up, happy amidst lies and make-believe.

The grandparents stand discredited at the end. So does the late Robert Padley. So also does the faith. Wendy and Simon may or may not get married, but if they do, the marriage will bear no reference to the Padley code. Peter gets Ann, but again, without faith as she is, her supposedly "full life" is going to be altogether different from the life in the Padleys' residence, which is viewed as suitable for Peter Pans only. Kurt conveniently shifts his loyalties and joins the camp of the adversaries, the Heppells. Geraldine and Wallcott leave the place after causing much disruption in the lives of the Padleys. The lonely, deserted Padleys are left alone amidst the packings, wondering if their past has had any meaning at all. Their only saving grace is their refusal to palliate their defeat with sentimentality. What has happened is hard to accept, but they do not deny their own responsibility.

> JAMES [*suddenly very angry*] : Stop that at once. You've done quite enough, Rose. Do you hear me ? Quite enough. [*As ROSE looks up at him in fear at his unexpected outburst, almost unknown in his life, he goes and puts his hand on her shoulder.*] Don't you understand anything, my dear ? It's all over. Nobody's going to listen to us anymore; and they're quite right; we've made a mess of it all. Oh, not perhaps, my dear, in our work, though there, too, of course, we've gone too long like automata, on the same tracks because it was easier, but here in the family we've failed entirely, and you've got to face it.
>
> ROSE [*drawing herself away from him*] : By what right, James, do you say all this ? You've never bothered about them before. You've lived your

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own life and left it all to me. Very well, then, it's too late to criticise me now. You have no right.

JAMES : Yes, my dear, you are quite right. I am to blame . But I have a right, if you like the duty of someone who loves you, to prevent you breaking yourself on an illusion. [*Pause — and he tries again*] We've been partners a long time, Rose, more than fifty years . . . .You must face what has happened. Your sand castle's fallen overnight. [*He puts his arms round her again.*]

ROSE [*looking up in dead horror*] : Do you think I'm a fool, James ? Do you think I don't know ? But I'm too old to learn new ways of living, too old to stop trying to put things in order where I see muddle.

JAMES [*in a desperate effort to reach her*] : Well, my dear, start with me then. Come with me to Washington. You'll be a better secretary than any Peter.

ROSE : No James. It's no use starting to pretend now. As you say, we've been married fifty years. If we haven't been very close in all that time, we mustn't sentimentalise about it now.

JAMES : So we've failed *completely* then.

ROSE : We should have done if we'd started pretending to each other at this time of our lives. [*She kisses him with sweetness, but still with her touch of patronage.*] Go back to your medieval merchants, my dear. You know about them.

[*Exit JAMES, a broken old man . . . .*] (pp. 102-03).

There is something tragic about the failure of the two Padleys, for all along their intentions have been good. At their age, they cannot change too much, but their acceptance of reality is not something to be despised.

In his "Foreword" to its revised version, Wilson described *The Mulberry Bush* as a "play of awakening : the awakening of a young woman, Ann Padley, to life; the awakening of her grandparents, Professor and Mrs. Padley, to the death of all they have cherished."[9] The play uses the classic structure of a placid situations being disrupted by intrusions from the outside and betrayals from within. The intruders destroy the calm; and after they leave, peace returns but the situation is crucially altered. There is a tragic side to the alteration because it leaves the Padleys impoverished, as it were, even if as a result they are forced to recognize their own realities. There is a happier side to the alteration because young Ann is enabled to awaken, grow up, and start living in the present. The intruders have impoverished her, too, but then she is not paralysed because Peter Lord (even his name is ominous) rescues her just in time. Ann's development is linked with her rejection of the myth of her

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father. So long as the myth is operating, she is sure of the Padleys' superiority and righteousness. She is even ready to marry Simon about whom she otherwise has many reservations because her father had been fond of him. Once the skeletons from the family cupboard start tumbling out, she turns away from the Padleys and starts seeing things the way Peter sees them. Of course, her conversion is too quick to look convincing or dramatically effective. Startling revelations 'happen' to her without seeming to cause any turmoil. Geraldine's shocking suggestions extract some reaction from her, even if it is just a stare, but Captain Wallcott's disclosures are taken by her a little too easily, in a matter of fact manner. This is why it is difficult to appreciate the change in her which makes her remark : "[Geraldine] is a hundred times more real than all our gracious living (p. 81). And if, on the other hand, the remark is taken to be rather hysterical, then one finds it difficult to believe that her decision to be Peter's wife is coolly taken. Ann partakes of Peter Pan as well as Sleeping Beauty, but her awakening to life is not made sufficiently convincing.

Ann's change not appearing quite convincing is, as a matter of fact, part of a larger, generic problem Wilson is faced with in *The Mulberry Bush*. Perhaps liberal humanists do not make strong dramatic characters. They appear both convincing and dramatic in his novels, and this is because their conflicts are frequently inner rather than external. Inner drama is difficult to capture in a well-made, realistic play. The Padleys get irritated, angry, hurt, but they are not given to showing emotions. There is as much truth in Geraldine's complaint against Ann : "You keep your own feelings so tight that you've lost the power to respond to others" (p. 56) as in Ann's own admission about the Padleys : "I ought to have understood, but I'm afraid the Padleys don't show emotion like this" (p. 58). Their quiet reserve is part of their character, and the reader understands this, but still this reserve prevents strong drama, even when Ann is collapsing under the new knowledge. In the novels, the outer reserve does not preclude much hectic and terrible inner drama. In the play, one is allowed to imagine the inner drama, but does not see it. As it is, any demonstration of emotion is embarrassing to the Padleys; even a simple word like 'bitterness' amounts to melodrama. The truly dramatic characters are the two malignant proteges of the Padleys' and for all their malice they do look for more alive than even Ann.

Wendy especially contributes a great deal to the play's dramatic effects. She is properly dramatic, so to speak : neurotic, irresponsible, explosive. She is so from her initial speech : "Oh ! I'm so sorry. I ought not to be here. I ought not to be anywhere really. I'm just a beastly nuisance to everyone" (p. 27) through her hysteric attack on the Padleys : "Talk ! Talk ! clever talk ! As if I hadn't had enough of that at home. That's what made me so ill. And all about yourselves — what Professor Padley's done for scholarships ! And what Mrs.

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Padley's done for orphans and criminals ! And what the great Robert Padley did for birth control and unmarried mothers. Everything for misfits and wasters. No wonder poor old England's in a mess" (p. 30), her attack on Cora, Simon's mother : "Mother ! Mother ! That's the trouble, you've smothered him away to nothing between you. You're old and finished, how can *you* understand ?" (p. 32), her anti-Semitic cry : "How dare you speak to me, you filthy little Jew ? That's the sort of ghastly thing you Padleys did, saving filth like that from Hitler's ovens" (p. 33) to her attack on the 'de-sexed' world of the Padleys : "How dare you talk about decorum ? You and your set haven't the faintest concern for real decency. You live in a silly, cheap, selfish world that laughs at everything. And when, for once, something real happens in this house [Wendy was in the embrace of Simon when Cora and Ann discovered the pair], some genuine emotion, you whine about decorum" (p. 64). She has malice but she also has reasons for being what she is : her lover is over–mothered, on the one hand, and reserved for Ann, on the other. A clear case of nerves, she yet enlivens the play by her acid tongue. What is more, she inspires other characters, too, to turn dramatic. Cora is critical of her mother's habit of patronising lame dogs like Kurt, but Wendy is the limit. Cora finds it impossible to stand her : "Mother, you must not allow this to go on. I know you have to fill the house with lame dogs, but not little bitches with rabies." Similarly, Wendy provokes James Padley into cynical wit; he calls her "Ophelia in slacks." Her removal from the revised version of the play leaves its dramatic power diminished and also involves Wilson into some curious improvisations. In the original version, it is Wendy who calls Geraldine by telegram; in the revised version, Geraldine mentions the telegram, but then says that perhaps the mulberry tree sent it !

The symbolism of the mulberry tree, distorted and in chains, is meant to highlight the failure of the Padleys to grow up, so that, in their different ways, they have not only remained fixated with their past but also, in the process, distorted it. They look the more unpleasant because existing in the present as they do, their 'pastness' does not look attractive at all. The same is true of the "distorted and strangely shaped, very old mulberry tree, some of the roots and branches of which are tied over with iron bands" (p. 53). The past is too much with the Padleys, including Ann, and its artificial mythification has resulted in its distortion. Ann has to get away from the tree to start living in the present, and Simon falls and gets hurt under the tree. Simon's improvisation on the children's song in his "here we go round the bloody mulberry bush" constitutes a judgement on the distorted garden and what it signifies. The symbolism is all too lucid, and one is not sure if it is necessary, because nearly everything in the play has already diagnosed the Padleys' trouble. The other symbol, a statue of Pan, is even less necessary. In fact, the motif is introduced to judge the Padleys exclusive commitment to reason at the expense of nature, spontaneity and impulse. The Padleys' faith is built on a denial of Pan and this is

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why they have not lived a whole life. Apparently, the suggestion is, Geraldine is a better person because she neither tied herself to the past nor denied her impulses. Both Pan and Geraldine, thus, highlight another lacuna in liberal humanism. Again, though, the Pan motif is unnecessary because all that this motif implies has already been clarified by Simon who recalls how, on one occasion, his father, a businessman, was transfixed with the beauty of nature : "And suddenly, the sky lit up a bright white and amber. And . . . . soon we were all following him, gazing and gazing at the beauty of it. Until suddenly we turned and there was Rose, darling Rose, buried deep in a book. 'Look at the lovely sky, Grandmother', we all cried, 'Look !' And Rose looked up and said, 'Why is it that the contemplation of natural scenery always reduces normal human beings to the level of schoolgirls ?' And returned to her book. She was reading, I remember, *The Need for Imaginative Education in Primary School teaching*. Darling, inconsequential, wise old Rose" (pp. 44-45); see also Rose's criticism of Wordsworthian self-indulgence on p. 71). The Pan motif, however, creates problems, for the alternative values it represents are embodied in Geraldine, and Geraldine does not just highlight a lacuna in liberal humanism; rather, she reduces liberal humanism to a mere joke. She is a highly problematic character, and with her Wilson is on very unsure grounds indeed. Possibly an inventive parody of Forster's Mrs. Moore in *A Passage to India*, Mrs. Geraldine Loughton-Moore is also something of a fairy mother to Ann, the 'lost' child; and the way she, together with Pan, is privileged over the Padleys' faith, she best expresses Wilson's own despration as a liberal humanist.

II

The Mulberry Bush situates its action and characters along several polarities such as fixity vs. fluidity, past vs. future, illusion/pretence vs. reality, reason vs. impulse, and nature vs. culture. Potentially capable of generating conflict and drama, these fail to do so mainly because the Padleys are not dramatic enough to make strong fighters. Their inner conflicts can be dramatic, but these cannot be presented on stage. Wilson, in fact, presents polar divisions of attributes, so that reason, 'culture', the past, fixity, frigidity, and illusion/deception are associated with the Padleys. Their opposites, impulse, nature, the present and future, change and development, sexuality, and realism, are distributed between different characters whose hostility to the Padley code links them together. These opposites represent quite a variety of responses, so that it is legitimate to say that Wilson intends to offer a comprehensive critique of liberal humanism. However, it is also true that such a range of perspectives prevents the play from achieving singleness of direction. Indeed, *The Mulberry Bush* is a novelist's play in the sense that the play wants to do a novel's job. At the beginning of this paper, I mentioned three positions which Wilson's desperation takes. These involve, respectively, a satirical

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depiction of the contemporary world, an unduly harsh punishing of the liberal humanist characters, and an undue leniency to their adversaries. In this concluding section, I turn to the last two positions as they are manifested in the play.

Who is Geraldine, what is she ? She most 'unconventionally' intrudes into the Padleys' garden and then kneels before Ann who is naturally shocked. As Geraldine proceeds with her 'unconventional' confession, we learn that she had married a person of 'artistic taste' who was actually a homosexual. Ann's father, the late Robert Padley, was championing divorce by mutual consent, and arranged a divorce for Geraldine. Apparently, being emotionally unfulfilled, he gratefully accepted love from Geraldine, the great treasure house of emotional-sexual warmth. He also tried to help her become economically independent, and to this purpose he made her start some curio shops and snake bars. These ventures failed for the simple reason that she was "very stupid about money."

> He was always very good to me. If I don't have anything now, it's because I'm very stupid about money, as about most things. That's why I loved Robert so; from the very first time that I spoke to him at that meeting he never seemed to despise me. That was what was so fine about him and why he helped people so, not all that psychology and clinics, but just understanding. I was always so pleased that I was able to understand him a little in return. I knew so well what a child he was in some ways. It helped him to feel that there was someone who would go to his old seances with him without laughing. (pp. 57-58)

The speech is typical of almost all attacks on liberal humanism in the play. Some Consolatory words of praise and appreciation are framed between dismissive judgements. Robert Padley understood others, but not through his progressive psychology lectures or clinics. He understood others, but otherwise he was quite a child. This is patronising of a kind more vicious than Rose's. Even though Geraldine was stupid about many matters, including money, and could just not appreciate Robert Padley's serious concerns, she was nevertheless superior to him. Of course, Robert was not an angel. He grew afraid of death and went to seances. Also, he was not courageous enough to reveal everything to his family. On their part, Ann's grandparents arranged an annuity for Geraldine after Robert's death, but they did not reveal everything to Ann herself. Now, Geraldine accepted the annuity but she is clear that this 'good work' does not make the two Padleys good or mature. They are children and have always been – for they are not impulsive or emotional. Rose, for example, is "a noble, brave creature .... and yet such a child really, for all her committees and good works" (p. 54). Robert Padley, Geraldine confirms, was full of dreams and these dreams "were only little boy's dreams" (p. 55). He was a child, a boy, a dreamer, for all his good work in arranging

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her escape from a horrid marriage and his subsequent support to her. Her judgement soon embraces Ann too who is described as too genteel to be natural or warm. Finally, Geraldine, even at the risk of loading the play with unbearable fairy-tale strains, offers a mystical advice to 'little' Ann : "There are some things we mustn't interfere with, Ann. Things that go deeper than our little minds. Old powers and magics like the one that drew me here tonight. It's dangerous to defy them, my dear" (p. 58).

Whatever be the value of Geraldine's homage to old powers and magics, it questions the very premises of liberal humanism and goes more or less unchallenged. Indeed, to her, our minds are "our little minds." The suggestion is that Geraldine possesses impulsive wisdom, while Robert Padley lacked it. His faith in "our little minds" was clearly childish. Ann's calling Geraldine better than any Padley might be a case of over-reaction, but the play actually privileges her over the Padleys. This it does, partly, by giving her the good lines which carry part of the play's thematic import : "It's a strange old placed this. Young people shouldn't live among ruins" (p. 84). Coming from a humanist writer as it does, such a privileging expresses desperation. If Geraldine were only someone introduced to expose a lack in liberal humanism, namely its disregard of emotions, she would be acceptable in a wholesome critique of that value-system. However, she reduces it to a childish ideology which one is better for *not* understanding or adopting; and she offers her dark, mystical powers as a better and more viable alternative. The stance behind her privileging reveals not a desire to critique liberal humanism but to subvert it. The good works of Robert Padley are sidelined; his private imperfections are foregrounded; and in turn, these imperfections are held up against the value-system itself. Geraldine accepted the annuity offered by the Padleys, but then the annnuity itself is treated as something despicable, just as Robert's investments in the curio shops and snacks bars are dismissed as something boyish. From the little that we are told about Geraldine it looks certain that she could not have made Robert a good wife, unless, of course, Robert gave up his whole outlook and approach to life. Also, unfortunately, the suggestion runs that by washing his hands of liberal humanism, he would have been a more fulfilled person. This is a repudiation of liberal humanism with a vengeance. It is almost like saying that to be a liberal humanist is *not* to be a fulfilled person. Polarities are too much with Wilson in the play.

Good works becomes the damnation of the Padleys. These are denounced, because they are seen as their strategy of not growing up. That justification by works is not sufficient would be acceptable, but to suggest that works do not matter, is a bleak Calvinist position taken with regard to liberal humanism. It is similar to Ella's "Doing does not last" in *Hemlock and After*[10] or the denial of grace to Harold Calvert in *Late Call.* It is held against the Padleys that they did not reveal the truth about their son to Ann; but it is not

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appreciated that their decision to withhold the truth was motivated by honourable considerations. In their own ways, they were being just to Geraldine too. Above all, they were being concerned for the image of liberal humanism which would have been further damaged if "the godly and the respectable" had come to know of the affair. That no human being is always consistent or perfect is not admitted; nor is the fact that one may be good even if one is imperfect here and there. The problem, in other words, relates to the conception of human beings in general and humanists in particular. Since the Padleys are not perfect angles, they must be damned. Just because Robert Padley was not as good as the family myth of him, he becomes worse than, say, Geraldine. Just because James Padley has not been a total person, he becomes a cypher.

It is interesting to see how Wilson goes out of his way to debunk James Padley. This liberal humanist is punished not just for hiding the truth from Ann. He is punished also for what he calls his "moderate success"[11] on the sexual front. Indeed, he is punished for this by no other than his grandson, Simon and his mother, Cora. In the end, even Rose, Jame's wife for fifty years, hits out at him when he is really down : "No, James. It's no use starting to pretend things now. As you say, we've been married fifty years. If we haven't been very close in all this time, we mustn't sentimentalise about it now" (p. 103). In the light of these 'last minute' disclosures, it looks that Rose's bossy, patronising tone is due to the failure of Robert Padley as a sexual emotional being. By extension, it would appear that to be a liberal humanist is to be only a moderate success at sex, besides being a failure as parent or grandparent, of course.[12] This aspect is unnecessary but is introduced only to do "full" justice to the humanists like James Padley and his son. Finally, it is part of the same justice-package that Robert Padley should be denied the satisfaction of being on the right side in resolving to go to America. What should surely be a just stand is made to look like a case of futile Utopianism on the part of Robert Padley. The implicit judgement is : he is no good, he can do no good. The Padley ship is sinking all right, but it is also sunk by Angus Wilson the humanist in a manner that can be explained only in terms of his desperation.

Geraldine is a fantasy figure introduced to collapse the family myth for the benefit of Ann. She is a conceptualisation brought in to discredit liberal humanism which in the process is reduced to another concept, a concept vitiated by much pretence and bad faith. Peter Lord is another problematic character in the play. He is from the working class whose interests he is supposedly all out to safeguard by ensuring that history is taught properly in schools, presumably to working class children. Wilson's determination to over punish the liberal humanists leads him to make Peter something of a hero, although, again, Peter is an exercise in conceptualisation. It is not at all clear what reforms in history teaching he has in mind. It is unlikely that he should

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be anticipating Foucault or history from below, although it is tempting to see several possible suggestions lurking beneath his deep dislike of the present way of teaching history in schools. This might be his way of washing his hands of his own history teacher. Or this might be his indictment of liberal humanists who have not studied history properly, who indeed have preferred to distort the past for their own private needs. More interestingly, this might also have behind it Wilson himself (he too has been a history student) acknowledging his own inability to problematize liberal humanism in history and living the task to Peter. However far-fetched the last suggestion might seem, it should be noted that Wilson is quite capable of transferring some of his own hunches to his characters.

What is quite clear about Peter is that he loves power, and at one place towards the end, it is suggested that he is going to be a dominating husband to Ann. Possibly an upstart with shades of Mr. Knighley and Matthew Arnold added to him, he is always prosaic, always right, always didactic. He offers a "useful and full life" (p. 94) to Ann, although again it is not clear what this life is going to be like. He has a very clear idea about his own value.

> PETER : . . . . I'm going from here for many reasons that you wouldn't understand. I have the sense to face reality. Padley couldn't get me made a Fellow here now if he wanted to. You're quite right. But that isn't what's important. I happen to believe that education matters; not here, but right the way through the country – especially the way people learn about the past, the history they're taught. That's the sort of power I'm going to have in my new work. I'm not so far from the Padleys, you see. I believe in freedom of mind and education and all the other things you think so out of date and funny. Just because the Padleys have gone dead on it doesn't mean it can't be done. It can, but not here and not in their way.
>
> KURT : And your precious career, you want that too, don't you ?
>
> PETER : Oh, yes ! I was brought up to believe in getting on. I intend to be at the top just as I intend to marry Ann . . . I don't think ideals should be held cheaply. I intend to be paid well for mine.
>
> KURT : You're bloody self-satisfied.
>
> PETER : No. I'm confident. I'm interested in the future. (pp. 50-51).

Peter's manifesto-like tone is good as a contrast to the Padley register, but it is hard to imagine Wilson approving of so much brashness, such prestige pricing of one's own ideals and beliefs, or such a self-righteous, self-assured tone.[13] Peter's decision to abandon his teacher since the latter has lost his utility for him can not appear edifying to Wilson the humanist. Nor is there anything very attractive about his ambitiousness. Nor indeed does his curt silencing of Ann when she is expressing her concern for James Padley (p. 101)

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seem to be the best omen for their planned marriage. Such things are seldom innocuous in the world of Wilson, and they never go unnoticed or unpunished by the narrator in his fiction. In the play, the purely dramatic mode deprives the Padleys of whatever sympathy or support they could have received from the narrator, and it brings much profit to Peter who assumes the role of a great saviour. Also, the use of polarities in the structure profits Peter who comes to stand for life and the future just because the Padleys belong to the past. But above all, one senses a despair about the play which seems to imply that since the liberal humanists have not been angels, it does not matter who occupies the ground vacated by them. Let Peter take Ann is only slightly better as an expression of this despair than, say, let the devil take her !

To some extent, Wilson's despair is also due to the polarities in the structure. The structure promotes a dramatic swing from one position to its contrary, but does not depict the stages that lead Ann to a sudden reversal of her loyalties. Stages are missing in her shift to Peter and his futuristic vision, and she looks rather awkward and unconvincing when to Jame's shocked : 'you choose a strange time to reverse your loyalties," she says, "I do as the times have forced me" (p. 99). Her awakening is not in doubt, considering that she can now use a language that was simply beyond her earlier. Her new language is similar to Peter's. She is very awakened, very 'realistic' when Wendy seems to reject Simon after Ann has given up on him.

> WENDY [*after a pause*] : I see, so the family make a gracious present of Simon because they can't hold him any longer. I'm very fond of Simon, but I don't have to take leavings, you know, just because I've been ill. . . . I don't think I've any right, you see, to breed from rotten stock.
>
> ANN [*slowly and with real intent to hurt*] : No. I dare say you're right. The best one can hope for you is that you'll be barren.
>
> .....
>
> PETER [*embracing her*] : That's all right, darling. A little brutal treatment won't do her any harm. [*Kissing her.*] Ann, my darling ! (p. 93).

This brutal treatment, though not unjustified, stands in sharp contrast to the 'decent' style of the Padleys. But it also declares that decent style obsolete. Infact, Ann's treatment of Wendy is the female version of Peter's manly 'slaps' to Kurt in Act I. Whatever may be the virtue of Peter's plans for Ann, it is clear that she wins Peter only after repudiating her entire liberal humanist legacy. One awakes and stops being a liberal humanist ! Some judgement this!

The failure of liberal humanism to signify much to an enlightened member of a different class is a judgement too. This failure, however, is not problematized. Instead, it is attributed to the Padleys private failures. In addition,

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the privileging of Peter and his *language* contributes to the erosion of the value of some things that have been good in liberal humanism. Similarly, Kurt's legitimate criticism of the Padley Patronage Ltd. which was generous to him but not generous enough to send him to the same school which Simon attended is not pursued. Instead, the issue is simply privatized : Kurt is evil. The Padleys' good works have proved counter-productive in his case, and he has not learnt his history properly, either. Neither Peter nor Wilson (who too was a student of history) has any wish to face up to the implications of Kurt's criticism which directly raises serious structural issues. Meanwhile one is left wondering to which kind of a school Peter and Ann will send their children, whether they will extend a more generous charity to some refugee children, and which class Peter himself will belong to, once he makes it to the top. Such questions are speculative perhaps, but these are prompted by the play itself. As such, Wilson's refusal to respond to them has implications for his treatment of liberal humanism. On the one hand, this refusal delimits his critique of liberal humanism, and, on the other, it explains why his desperation has to resort to those two rather unfair positions.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See, for example, C.B. Cox, "Angus Wilson : Studies in Depression," *The Free Spirit : A Study of Liberal Humanism in the Novels of George Eliot, Henry James, E.M. Forster, Virginia Woolf, and Angus Wilson* (London : Oxford University Press, 1963).
2. This view is contrary to the view of Cockshut who calls Wilson's humanist protagonists his "favoured children'." A.O.J. Cockshut, "Favoured Sons : The Moral World of Angus Wilson", *Essays in Criticism*, 9 (January 1959), 50-60. Cockshut's criticism is chiefly based on his reading of Wilson's fiction.
3. *Theatre World Annual*, 7 (June 1955—May 1956), 122.
4. Eric Rhode, ed., *Novelists' Theatre* (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1966), p. 14
5. Audrey Williamson criticised *The Mulberry Bush* as a play "not warmly human" but existing on "some detached intellectual plane." *Contemporary Theatre : 1953-56*, quoted in Jay L. Halio, *Angus Wilson*, writers and critics (Edinburgh : Oliver & Boyd, 1944), p. 83.
6. G.K. Hunter, "English Drama : 1900-1960," in Bernard Bergonzi, ed., *Sphere History of Literature in the English Language*, Vol VII : *The Twentieth Century* (London : Sphere Books, 1970), p. 332.
7. *The Mulberry Bush* (1956), original version, rpt. in Eric Rhode, ed., *Novelists' Theatre*, p. 30.The references to the original version are to this edition and enclosed in parentheses. The references to the revised version (1957) bear separate notes.
8. These are visible in Ann's acute embarrassment at Geraldine's behaviour in the beginning of Act II. In the revised version, these are explicitly noticed and talked about by Peter Lord in the beginning of Act I where he accuses Ann of underlining social origins, even though she claims that she is above such "common" vulgarities. *The Mulberry Bush* (London : Evans Brothers, 1957), pp. 10, 12.
9. ibid., p. 5
10. Angus Wilson, *Hemlock and After* (London : Secker & Warburg, 1952), p. 246.
11. *The Mulberry Bush*, revised version, p. 44.

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12. In an interview, Wilson emphasised the failure of the Padleys with "their children and their grandchildren." Still reaffirming his faith in liberal humanism, he nevertheless maintained that "this failure sums up my case against liberal humanism." *"Iowa Review* Interview" to Frederick P.W. McDowell (1977), rpt. in ***Diversity and Depth in Fiction : Selected Critical writings of Angus Wilson***, ed. Kerry McSweeney (London : Secker & Warburg, 1983), p. 271. Wilson, of course, is right that the Padleys failure as parents, grandparents, and patrons is a crucial. However, it is not clear if, regrettable as it is, this failure explains the entire truth about the decline of liberal humanism, even in the context of the play itself. No doubt, charity should have begun at home, but still it is doubtful that as excellent parents, grandparents or patrons the Padley s would have had greater appeal to a Peter or a Wendy, or would have stopped the Heppells at home and the McCathytes in America. True, as better persons, the two padleys would have felt less broken at the end, but this is only to say that it pays in the end to be better rather than flawed. It does not problematize liberal humanism as a class phenomenon.

13. Peter Faulkner feels uneasy about the meaning of Peter and comments, "But only if we can see Peter and Ann as representing a valid extension of the tradition can the play be said to go beyond the social pessimism of *Hemlock and After." Angus Wilson : Mimic and Moralist* (London : Secker & Warburg, 1980), p. 54. My position is that it is difficult to see them in this way.

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JHABVALA'S "AN EXPERIENCE OF INDIA" : HOW TRUE AND RIGHT ?

T. N. Dhar

Most critics on Jhabvala believe that she is a fictionist of considerable skill and distinctive merit. Vasant Shahane, for example, writes that "As a short story writer Jhabvala's talent is aesthetically distinctive and technically effective."[1] Williams considers her a sophisticated writer, a sound explorer of "the complexity and subtlety of Indian society and of Indian and expatriate character."[2] Some credit her with an unusually tough and clear understanding of India, as reflected in her long and short fiction, a quality they think she owes to her exposure to several cultures : Polish, British, and Indian. I, however, believe that Jhabvala's treatment of India in her short fiction is not always distinctive enough to be called complex or sophisticated, nor is she technically effective. The very things which critics claim give uniqueness to her perception of India are responsible for many false notes in her stories. In one of her interviews, Jhabvala has said : "A story is . . . like . . . a poem . . . . You can't cheat on a poem. It's one cry from the heart – just one – only that has to come out true and right."[3] She rightly emphasizes that a short story is a sensitive art form and a writer has to aim at what Schorer calls "technical objectification" to make it come true and right. The contention of this essay is that Jhabvala does not generally succeed in making her stories "come true and right," for the encounter with India in them is neither significant nor valuable : there is neither illumination nor clarification. As an illustration of the falsity of her perception, I attempt an indepth analysis of "An Experience of India" which, as the title itself suggests, is the most representative story of her involvement with India.

"An Experience of India " is a first-person narrative in which a woman from the West comes to India, has a series of encounters with different people, gets sick of everything around her, decides to move back to the West with her husband, but, at the very last moment, for no plausible reason, decides to stay back, although she has no money to live on and no place to live in. When she says "Now I feel compelled that I have to do this whether I want to or not," we are not merely puzzled, but mystified as well. However, it is what happens between her first exposure to India and her ultimate decision to stay on here which gives the story a superficial air, although at the start we feel assured of something interesting and unique.

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When the narrator and her husband come to India, they both "thought it was a marvellous opportunity not only for him professionally but for both of us spiritually. Here was our escape from that Western materialism with which we were both so terribly fed up."[4] The readers are alerted to the expectation of an East-West encounter of a serious magnitude and a genuinely-motivated quest for spiritual enrichment. Jhabvala's choice of a first-person narrator further enhances this expectation by providing for an appropriately credible and intimate communication line between the narrator and the reader. Within only a few days of their stay in India, the keenness of the narrator's husband to know the country fades away, but she holds on and chooses not to be with people like him who "talk about innane things in their tastefully appointed air-conditioned apartments" (120). This further deepens our expectation.

This sound and promising start is, however, belied because the narrator does not stick to her objective, and one marks a dilution in the seriousness of her intention. The description of her exposure to India betrays that she is more concerned with the externals of things, rather than with understanding them. Instead of dramatizing her involvement with the Indian scene – the place and its people – Jhabvala reduces her role to that of a commentator who generalizes about India and the Indians on the basis of the limited experiences she has.

The narrator's description of her experience of India reminds one of a crash course in Indianization which has a predictable movement because it is a touristy, cliche-ridden account of India : travelling in third class carriages, getting soaked in perspiration, soot, and dirt, eating raw chappatis at wayside stations, and drinking water from disused wells. This commonplace account is interspersed with a number of generalizations, such as "People always speak to you in India" (120); People in India are so hospitable" (120-21); and "Indian men are very, very keen to sleep with foreign girls" (121). She obliges quite a few, although she is not sure of why she did so : "I didn't like sleeping with all these people, but I felt I had to. I felt that I was doing good, though I don't know why, I couldn't explain it to myself" (121). This tendency to generalize accompanied by together with her constant failure to explain her actions make her look a kind of a drifter instead of a quester who goes along with will and purpose; she only skims the surface of what is all obvious. In fact, her itemization of what she considers specifically Indian is too general to be associated with the description of things given by a sensitive observer.

This generalized account is followed by her encounters which follow one another with great rapidity; there is no specific linkage between them, except that they can be grouped as sexual or spiritual. The first one is with a middleaged person who has a "feminine mount" and "feminine suffering eyes that most Indians have". From him she learns about the unhappiness of his recently-married daughter, and about his own marriage : how he had to sleep

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with his wife in the same room in which his parents and his younger brothers and sisters also slept. This arouses tenderness in her : "I flung myself on my companion and kissed and hugged him hard, I lay on top of him, I smothered him, I spread my hair over his face because I wanted to make him forget everything that wasn't me – this room, his daughter, his wife, the women in georgette sitting on the balconies – I wanted everything to be new for him and as beautiful as I could make it" (123). This demonstration of pity is an amalgam of naivety and patronage; that is why it does not last. The man gets tired of her, and she happily moves on to her new adventure.

Now she takes an eighteen year old sarod player Ahmed as her lover. He is married, but the marriage has not been consummated. She feels gay in his company "because no one was ever as carefree as he was, as light and easy and just ready to play and live" (124). Ahmed becomes a means of her dalliance. He teaches her "how to crack his toes, which is such a great Indian delicacy, and yelled with pleasure when I got it right" (124). However, when she is forced to carry him into her husband's home almost like an exotic plant, he runs away, because he feels suffocated in the glass house of their drawing room.

Perhaps sensing that there is no adequate linkage between these two episodes and between them and the ones that will follow, Jhabvala makes her protagonist say : "For all the time, ever since I'd come and even before, I'd had this idea that there was something in India for me to *gain*, and even though for the time being I'd failed, I could try longer and at last perhaps I would succeed" (127). There is a ring of disenchantment mixed with mockery in this, suggesting that India had hardly anything worthwhile to offer to a seeker except sexual contact. But if this is what Jhabvala is aiming at, it does not come off, because the narrator, who could have shaped this awareness in us, is not a fit medium. Had she been drawn as a victim-figure, her contempt for the people with whom she has sex would have registered and aroused the reader's sympathy. That she is not. On the contrary, she is like a foot-loose woman who meddles in the lives of other people and causes them pain, even though she does not intend doing so.

Her next set of adventures involves excursions into matters spiritual. This is how she explains the shift from the sexual to the spiritual : "I'd met people on and off who had come here on a spiritual quest, but it wasn't the sort of thing I wanted for myself. I thought anything I wanted to find, I could find by myself travelling around the way I had done. But now that this had failed, I became interested in the other thing" (127-28). This belated shift is another proof of her inconsistency, for in the beginning of the story she had told us that she came to India for spiritual advancement. It only shows that she is somewhat confused and vague about what she is looking for.

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However, what follows are three short encounters with the so-called spiritual people : a swami, a holy woman, and a guru. The narrator goes to attend the prayer meetings of the swami because everybody around him looked so happy and peaceful. But she fails to acquire that peaceful look, although she takes to singing hymns, eating vegetables, and wearing a saree. Later she starts seeing a holy woman who spends most of her time in narrating stories from the legendary past of India, and often goes into a state of ecstasy.

Just before the narrator starts on these spiritual adventures, she states that she would try and perhaps succeed in finding out what she wants to gain in India. Keeping this statement in view, the reader naturally expects her to define her attitude to what she experiences, but the narrative hardly offers any such thing. No discernible attempt is made at any critical evaluation of the experiences narrated. If there is any intention of mocking the swami, it is not clear, for she herself gets bored with what happens at his place. Her involvement with the holy woman is marginal, and the woman is too transparent : "People treated her like a holy woman, but she didn't set up to be one."

The encounter with the guru is the only comprehensible part of the narrative, for it is charged with satirical implications. The narrator does not find him a "spiritual type of person." He looks like a "bull," with strong legs and shoulders and "huge eyes," which are like "coal-black demons" and he looks "enormous and eerie." the description characterizes him an evil and lascivious person as is also confirmed by his actions. He follows the narrator like a shadow, and wants her to be pliable and manouverable like Jane, another Western disciple of his. When she does not do as he desires, the guru charges at her with the fury of a mad dog : " 'How many men have you slept with ?'. . . 'How many ? Answer me ! . . . Answer me, answer me !' he cried, riding on top of me, and then he cried 'Bitch !' and I laughed in relief" (133). Although she is not really a victim here, she succeeds in arousing our disgust towards the guru, by provoking him to reveal his true self.

Having discovered the guru as a fake, it seems appropriate and understandable that she go back to her husband, whom she has all along neglected, and to the ease and comfort of her old life-style, the marble bathroom and the old routine. There she gets an attack of jaundice which makes her sick, and out flows her aversion for India. She cannot stand even Ramu, her devoted servant, because he seems to smell of India "like some evil flood soaking through the walls of my airconditioned bedroom" (135). When her revulsion is complete, and she is all set to go back, there is a sudden change in her. Up on the terrace, she remembers a story about Krishna which the holy woman used to recite. She surprises Henry (and the reader) by telling him that she isn't going back with him. When he is gone, she still is not sure of why she was living like that "but I didn't know what else to do. I was afraid to go out : everything I had once liked so much – people, places, crowds,

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smells – I now feared and hated" (137). And yet she does not feel like going back. She is on the road once again, about to begin her next round of travels in India.

Let us look a little more closely at the experiential content of the story and the manner in which it has been realized. When a woman from the West comes into a new culture as a seeker, we expect a highly individualized encounter of some significance. Since she is an outsider, we also expect it to be valuable. When we find that she has come to stay in India, abandoning her husband, and in a state of uncertainty and want, what we expect of the narrative is that we are offered clues to understand what exactly led her to change her mind. But the experience is not thus presented. In the case of "An Experience" it is all the more necessary because the mode of narration is one of past recall – a contemplative consciousness looking back on what happened to her. Such a consciousness has to be a sensitive and discriminating one and to go over only those bits and parts of experience which are significant and have, if not a very direct, at least a suggestive bearing on the present. This would give the recall an ordering (not necessarily a recognizably logical one) which binds the experience into a cohesive and comprehensible pattern. This is what I referred to earlier as "technical objectification." As I tried to demonstrate in the foregoing analysis, there is no fusing or rhythmic linkage between the various scenes which constitute the story.

For want of this linkage, the narrator's experience of India is just a general experience of India; it does not become specifically the experience of the narrator. One gets a feeling that Jhabvala has visualised too much of an experience for a single character in a short span of time. The narrators's recall of the experience is descriptive and lacks experiential depth. Only those things come within her range of experience which have a touristy, wishy-washy air about them. The rapidity with which she is made to go through her motions – in a somewhat crazy, irresponsible manner, always skimming the surface and not trying to reach the depths, gives her adventures a touch of unreality, in spite of the fact that Jhabvala writes in the verisimilar mode. The result is that when we look at the experience in its totality, it is too general to be of interest, except to an ignorant Westerner, and too superficial, hollow, and stereotyped to be true.

The hollowness of the experience partly accounts for the fact that the narrator's attitude to it is neither of approval nor of disapproval. Everything that comes within her range is described in a tone of clinical neutrality – a feature one generally associates with the old-fashioned objective journalistic reporting. However, it is only in her experience with the guru, who is exposed as a fake, that we get the only bit of satire in the story.

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The clinical neutrality in the presentation of the narrator's experience also contributes to what I can only describe as a failure of tone. When somebody promises to talk to us intimately about his or her experiences, we assume that there is something distinctive about her reactions and attitudes to things. But this is what we do not find in the story. The narrator sounds more like a culture commentator than an experiencing self; this is so because she generalize a great deal. The authorial super-imposition on the character is so complete that the character virtually loses her distinctive identity. Perhaps this also explains why the narrative strategy of Jhabvala does not permit any insight into the inner mind of the protagonist. In a story of this kind there was greater need for the author to take us right into the psyche of the experiencing consciousness, but this is beyond Jhabvala. That explains why the protagonist is constantly baffled by her actions; she is not sure even of her involvement. In fact, right from the very beginning she cannot understand and explain her actions; she sows mysteries throughout the course of her journey. Her adventures do not cohere into a structural pattern informed with emotional or intellectual unity. The story has only a jerky, linear movement, but no true structure.

It could be possible that the story is not about India, but about the person who encounters it. That is, by putting her in a new environment, the author is interested in exposing her as a fake. But this is not the impression we get while reading it. The protagonist begins seriously to look for something new in India, and keeps herself involved in her attempt though in a confused, bumbling manner, at great risk and pain, and at times in very humiliating circumstances, and at the end decides to stay back in India in spite of heavy odds against her. Although Jhabvala denies us the opportunity of understanding her compulsions, the narrator is seriously involved in whatever she is doing, even though she is not clear about it, and sometimes there is a facetious air to her adventures.

The final impression that the story has on us is one of bewliderment. Jhabvala's characterization of the protagonist is faulty, and her control over her imperfect and unsteady; she does not show any discrimination in the choice and arrangement of incidents; she puzzles us by the relationship between the narrator and her environment. The result is that there is no significant enhancement in our understanding of India. Jhabvala uses the medium of a story to pass on to us a number of facts, and in so doing blurrs the distinction between story and essay.

It is interesting to compare this story with Jhabvala's essay "Myself in India". There are several points of identity between them : both are in the first-person mode and confessional in tone, and both are about encounter with India. The essay reads better than the story because Jhabvala gives clear expression to her attitude toward India. For example, after making a crisp

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formulation about the general Western attitude to India, she writes about her individual reaction to people and situations. This is how she begins : "Westerners, when face to face with India, go through a cycle. First stage, tremendous enthusiasm – everything Indian is marvellous; second stage, everything Indian not so marvellous; third stage, everything Indian abominable" (9). When she feels revolted by the educated women of India, her repugnance towards them is unequivocal : ". . . my teeth are set on edge if I have to listen to her for more than five minutes – yes, even though everything she says is so true and in line with the most advanced opinions of today. But when she says it, somehow, even though the words be true, they ring completely false" (12). Like the narrator in the story, she knows why she came to India, but unlike her she also knows why she continues to stay here : "I do sometimes go back to Europe. But after a time I get bored there and want to come back here. I also find it hard now to stand the European climate. I have got used to intense heat and seem to need it" (16) The essay makes better sense than the story.

NOTES

1. Vasant A. Shahane, *Ruth Prawer Jhabvals* (New Delhi : Arnold-Heinemann Publishers, 1976), p. 142.
2. Haydn Moore Williams, *The Fiction of Ruth Prawer Jhabvala* (Calcutta : Writers Workshop, 1973), p. 58.
3. Quoted in Yasmine Gooneratne, *Silence, Exile and Cunning : The Fiction of Ruth Prawer Jhabvala* (Hyderabad : Orient Longman Limited, 1983), p. 234.
4. Ruth Prawer Jhabvala, *How I Became a Holy Mother and Other Stories* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex : Penguin Books, 1981), p. 119. Subsequent references to the story and to her essay "Myself in India," incorporated in the text, are to the same edition.

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THE FEMININE PERSPECTIVES OF HERZOG'S QUEST

Lalit M. Sharma

Saul Bellow's *Herzog* is a dense novel of rich complexities. A high-pitched intensity reverberates the narrative and electrifies the reader's response to Herzog's Faustian flights and his recovery in the novel. A crisis in his personal life makes him suspect his own credentials even as he struggles to spell out "the sacred goal of vague pilgrimages."[1] The quester in him travels through intellectual terrains and vistas of emotion, succeeds in constellating his distractions and ambiguities into a state of mind that is "confident, cheerful, clairvoyant and strong" (p. 7). A remarkable aspect of Herzog's quest is his experience of the archetype of the Feminine. This analysis will focus on the hero's encounters with various facets of the feminine – the cherishing and nourishing good, orgiastic emotionality and its stygian depths.[2] In order to arrive at his individuality, this Bellovian hero – inextricably enmeshed in the tangled boughs of the feminine – is bound to confront and overcome the terrible and alluring, the likes of Circe and Calypso. While his intellectual configurations complicate his journey, Herzog aims at realizing a life that renews 'universal connexions' and redeems the "social meaning of nothingness" (p. 45). It will be seen that the experience of the feminine in its multidimensional propulsions awaken and energise Herzog to confront the existential reality also more pragmatically and meaningfully. Psychological concepts like Self, Ego, Shadow, Anima, will be pressed into service in the present analysis.

Herzog's earliest experience of the feminine is in the person of his mother as always in the case of man. The image is one of protection and nourishing goodness. "She certainly spoiled me" (p. 145), recalls the crisis-ridden Moses as he is overcome by a strong urge to "explain, to have it out, to justify, to put in perspective, to clarify to make amends" (p. 8). *The image* of his mother is contrasted in his memory with that of his rich aunt Zipporah who believed in the power of curses. The children, including Moses, had "a great schooling in grief" (p. 155). The intensity of the coveted emotion he experienced in his mother turns more lucid as he sees himself in his mind's eye as the bootlegger's son, strutting across Napoleon street which was "rotten, toylike, crazy and filthy, riddled, flogged with harsh weather" (p. 146). While Mother cherished ambitions for her children, the aunt blamed "Papa's failure in America" on such indulgences as fit for "spoiled princes and princesses" (p.

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152). This pleasantly happy encounter with the Mother archetype will continue to guide Herzog's Anima projections.

Almostly childishly protective, Daisy, Herzog's first wife, looked after him with the demeanour of a mother. A conventional jewish woman, she was a country girl whose strength lay in stability, symmetry, order, contentment. She would put his pocket money in an envelope in a green metal file bought for budgeting. It was her cherishing goodness which helped him to finish his book *Romanticism and Christianity.* Herzog admits as he records an analysis of the past : "By my irregularity and turbulence of spirit I brought out the worst in Daisy" (p. 133). She suffered in silence, believing his word that he was seriously occupied. Ironically, while Daisy attributed her husband's peculiar and erratic behaviour to his philosophical temperament, Herzog often peeped out of his ivory towers and winding stairs. And one such glance at the primrose glamour outside led him to be madly bewitched by Madeleine. The heavy blue eyes, the byzantine nose, the healthy pink complexion, the intellectual credentials – all these made her sound exceptional, a female par excellence. While Daisy was an extension of the Anima figure as it first entered his life via his mother, she could not, perhaps, act the seductive temptress, and could only cater to the gross, mundane and infantile needs of a child in Herzog. If she also felt incomplete or denied in her relationship with her husband, it only reflected in the "heavy silence" (p. 133), a passive negativity in the relationship. Her erotic role also fails to trigger high states of emotive experience in Herzog, nor could sne stand up to the logoic needs of her companion. In Jungian formulations, thus, she represents Anima qualities only at the instinctual plane. She is a suckling mother while Herzog needed the experience of a temptress, a whore, a devouring female. The hero must go beyond the first stage of Anima. His unconscious urges would drive him on to plunge into the labyrinth of the feminine, and, in the process earn a vital charge into his conscious energies.

Herzog moves into the zones of orgiastic sexuality. Sono Oguki entertains him with erotic orgies, calling him 'O mon philosophe'. Wanda, Zinka, Sono – none can answer his purpose. May be, each rated him higher than kings and presidents. It was left to Madeleine to throw Herzog off his balanced,exalted self, into the deeps of his own psyche to recover for himself the unique individuality of Moses Elkanah Herzog. With Madeleine, the relationship begins on a note of the erotic and the aesthetic, the second stage of the Anima in Jungian terms, the image of Helen. And like Helen, she leaves Herzog willingly abducted by the handsome Paris who is none else but his dearest friend, Valentine Gersbach. He cannot bulldoze his way through the relationship with Madeleine as he did with his first wife, Daisy. If Daisy's shadow contented itself with a dumb 'silence', Madeleine was to whip her anger and emotion in scathing judgements on Herzog, that he was "overbearing, gloomy

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... very demanding . . . a dictator, a regular tyrant" (pp. 44-5). And, when together in a room, he "seemed to swallow and gulp all the air and left nothing for her to breathe" (p. 199). Such indictment comes fast on the heels of the great feats he had performed while he was under her feminine charm. At her instance he retreats to the remote Ludeville, dumps twenty grand on the Berkshire Villa, then moves to Chicago, finds a job for his friend, Valentine as well. His sources of income are stretched in coping with the bouncing cheques as Madeleine goes on shopping spree in grand style, in complete contrast to his first wife's sense of budgeting. The intellectual woman has no idea of domestic chores. The violent bed-room scenes, during which swinging like a street fighter she showered blows on Herzog, with he bearing it all like a patient animal, finally culminate in a separation where Madeleine calls the tune : "You will never get the surroundings you want. Those are in twelfth century somewhere" (p. 130). The humiliation is complete for Herzog; with an impotent indignation he turns back upon himself, that he has really "mismanaged – everything" (p. 9); that he can "smile at Herzog and despise him" – yet his dilemma is – "I am Herzog. I have to be that man" (p. 73). This quest for the individual called Herzog becomes the motif of the hero's conceptualised examination of his own life as well as of the world, the world that denies an individual his dignity, his own life that takes him for a wayside victim on Madeleine's journey to her "final elevation as queen of the intellectuals" (p. 82).

While introducing Herzog early in the novel, Saul Bellow uses two words to give the reader an idea of Herzog's character : narcissistic and masochistic. The intensive introspection is perhaps propelled by the masochistic strain in the character, and Herzog's obsessive retreats into his own self and his self-evaluation vis-a-vis the existentiality around are suggestive of the deep-rooted narcissism in his personality. This narcissistic exploration is in the true spirit of the original, mythological implications of Narcissism. In his book *Ego and Archetype* Edward F. Edinger says that it is "not a needless excess of self-love but rather just the opposite of a frustrated state of yearning for self-possession which does not yet exist".[4] Now, what ought to be the destined goal of this yearning in a narcissistic character ? Edinger defines it as :

> the fulfilment of self-love rather than its renunciation. We meet here a common error of the moralising ego which tries to create a loving personality by extirpating self-love. This is a profound psychological mistake and only causes a psychic split. Fulfilled self-love is a prerequisite of the genuine love of any object, and to the flow of psychic energy in general.[5]

The separation from Madeleine shakes Herzog into an acutely embarrassed state of having been denied his individuality which does not as yet exist. He has to wade clear of the whirlpools of confusion on the one hand, and on the

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other, the Scylla-like traps of negativity and nihilism which brand some of the contemporary, intellectual formulations. The 'moralising ego' in him does try to 'create a loving personality', cultivate secure feelings to safely deposit himself into sympathy and warmth. His visits to Aunt Zelda, Phoebe Gersbach, Tennie, Himmelstein, Libbie, etc. signify his endeavours on this frontier. Etymologically, the word 'individual' implies that which is indivisible. In order for him to arrive at it in categorical terms, he is, of course, occupied by "an act of recollection, a gathering together of what is scattered . . . coming to terms"[6] with himself, to acquire a relatively altered, refined consciousness. In the process, Herzog has to confront, wrestle with, and assimilate his own Shadow personality.

Herzog's experience of the dark aspect of the Feminine via his encounter with Madeleine exerts as an eclipse on his ego-consciousness. The connection between the ego and the Self is "vitally important to psychic health. It gives foundation, structure and security to the ego . . . When the connection is broken the result is emptiness, despair, meaninglessness and in extreme cases psychosis or suicide."[7] In case of Herzog, the ego-Self axis has suffered a rupture, a void, which is now populated by a whirlwind of polemics. He appears to be "cracked and for a time he had himself doubted that he was all there" (p. 7). A release from the tortuous pressures comes to him in the growing pile of his unmailed letters, the immense amount of one-way communication with the great of all times and his own contemporaries, the 'worse cripples' he has met in his life, and towards the end of his peculiar career as Letter-writer, he writes one to God too. Even as he struggles to restore his own image of dignified living, he is aware that one may only be holding up a squawking, niggardly individuality, merely an 'infantile megalomania'. And also, that most mankind have lived without justice, "sweated, gypped, enslaved, suffocated, bled to death, buried with no more justice than cattle" (p. 227). But, Herzog, "bellowing with pain and anger, has to have justice" (p. 227). 'Wriggling under the sharp elegant heel' of Madeleine, he is in deep trouble, and to his help arrives Ramona, "the sexual priestess" (p. 23). That she is in the archetype of Calypso is a matter that will be considered at a later stage.

Ramona is not just another Wanda, Sono or Zinka; she is the carrier of the numinous energy of the Anima figure in Herzog's psyche. In terms of Jungian description of the three aspects of the Feminine, Ramona combines in herself the 'good' as well as the 'passion', nourishing energy as well as the orgiastic emotionality. She is able to help Herzog to crawl out of the stygian depths of the crisis which had damaged his sexual powers and incapacitated his ability to face life. Herzog explains to Aunt Zelda how Madeleine had made it 'tough' for him – "Sexually" (p. 45). That is when Madeleine was growing independent of Herzog, taunting him for his anachronistic habits of

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thinking, developing the traits of an Amazon.[8] Blocked in his relationship with Madeleine, Herzog, fearing impotence, turns to other women as alleged by Aunt Zelda in her counter-point to Herzog's complaints. In myths, the shadow of the Feminine nature, as in Medusa, can turn people into stones. The implication is also that one may get stuck in rigid, masculine intellectual formulae, or trapped in obsessions.[9] The facts about Herzog bear this out : the obsession with his humiliation by Madeleine, displacing him in the intellectual field; his "Faustian spirit of discontent and universal reform" (p. 74), or, as Max F. Shulz puts it : "With his book and his lectures, he sees himself as the inevitable leader . . . not for nothing is he called Moses."[10] His visions of ill-treatment of his daughter, June, and the longing ache to go and visit somebody like Libbie are born of the very compulsions of the behaviour that he cannot help, owing it all to his experience of the dark aspect of the Feminine. It is Ramona who facilitates his return to reality, to sanity, to the assurance of his own self.

Ramona's charming invitations to him for the rum-flavoured ice cream, the wines and the music, the warm odour of the erotic and the warmth in her human concern act as healing ministrations to the harried mind of Herzog. She is there to wake him to a resurgence of psychic energy : "Is it a point of honour or something, not to think clearly ? . . . You don't respect yourself enough. Do you want to be torn to pieces ?" (p. 203). She appears to convince him that he was 'chemically' youthful. The dionysian revival restores his confidence in himself. The sinking reserves of his psychic energy enhance his misery, but by transforming misery into sexual excitements. Ramona successfully "turned his grief in a useful direction" (p. 164). Thus, she saves him from getting 'stuck' in some rigid intellectual formulae, some absurd, nihilistic rejection of life as Nirode does in Anita Desai's novel *Voices in the City*, or like Quentin in Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury* bind himself on an imaginary stake as a sacrificial offering. Nevertheless, the masochistic strain in him sends him to Reality Instructors as he relives his humiliating relationship with Madeleine. His visits to Sandor Himmelstein, Phoebe Gersbach, Aunt Zelda bear this burden. The Dionysian extravaganza and the linguistic frenzy of unmailed letters are also interspersed with Madeleine's treachery, and his own hurts are transformed into a metaphor for annihilation. The movement from his own devaluation to that of the contemporary man is natural in an intellectual like Herzog as Ramona accomplishes an extension for him in the lease of narcissism.

During the interim of the extended phase of narcissism, Harzog broods over, for instance "what it means to be a man. In a city. In a century. In transition. In a mass . . . In a society that was no community and devalued the person" (p. 208). In his baiting of the greats of all time he stretches to full potential his own intellectual gear. Just as his logoic insights lead him to wider

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questions, his perception of himself and the relation with Ramona are also subjected to this cerebral enquiry. In a mental letter he records the nature of this malady : "You think that sexual pleasure is all this spirit wants, and since we are giving him that sexual pleasure, then why shouldn't everything be well ?" (p. 23). No wonder, his intellectual privilege as Bellow himself mentioned in an interview, proves to be another form of bondage.[11] It encumbers his instinct to relate to the reality *per se*. His attempts to synthesize follow a difficult route, a kind of labyrinth out which a new sense of relatedness alone can bail him out. In other words, a symbolic death of the former self can end the present crisis and herald him into individual wholeness.

Accepting favours from Ramona may bind him for ever to Calypso's island makes him escape to Vineyard Heaven for a holiday. Waiting for the ferry, his breathing becomes freer; the purity of air moves him, and experiencing an epiphanic moment Herzog stumbles into sanity. He must not seek salvation though the illusory female pursuit, must not hunger after a perch secure, away from the battles of his ambivalent self. He cannot redeem himself through the surrogate maternal gestures from a friend like Libbie. He realizes that the turbulent sphere of actuality cannot be comprehended in a simplified way. His fears about Ramona are viewed by him in a different light once the narcissistic structures and the intellectual constructions are exposed to the savage touch of the actual. The experience of the dark, terrible aspect of the Feminine, via Madeleine, placed Herzog into the incubus of dark projections and turned him alien to the potentials of his own psyche. While Ramona saves him from falling apart, he continues to assault outer reality, both historical and social, through his impertinent letters which serve as a cathartic outlet for his overwhelming indignation.

A vision of actuality is vouchsafed to Herzog when he decides to shoot his former friend and wife for ill-treatment of his daughter. As he is ready to avenge through his intended violence, he is "greeted by a scene that goes for to dispel his mistaken perception of self and his misinformed ideas of his relation to others".[12] He sees Valentine bathing his daughter Junie with the very ordinary affection of a father, an image of Eros, the force that locks relationships, almost a touch of the maternal. The experience of the actual is, to use a term from Abraham H. Maslow, a Peak experience for Herzog. Maslow explains that in a Peak experience, a person feels more integrated, unified, whole than at other times; he has far less splits, less fighting against himself, more at peace with himself. [13] In the journey to selfhood, each Peak experience is like a mile-stone. That this scene does much good to Herzog is borne out by the fact that he can act the psychopomp to Asphalter, and persuade him thus : "The real and essential question is one of our employment by other human beings and their employment by us. Without this true employment you never dread death, you cultivate it" (p. 280). Here, Herzog is not

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shooting inflamed rhetoric at his friend. Instead of being an egotist with a friend or evasive with his own soul, his grasp of the actual, the real, is reflected in his words with a touch of compassion and of feeling.

To take up once again Edward Edinger's discussion of Narcissism : "Fulfilment of self-love, or union with the image in the depths, requires a descent into the unconscious, a *nekyia* or symbolic death." [14] Herzog was driving his Falcon, his daughter, Junie with him when a Volkswagon truck rammed it against a utility pole. He could listen to his daughter's screams but could not respond. This symbolic death signifies an awareness of death not as an objective fact of life but an empirical taste of the final void. Such a perception of himself can lift man out of the quagmire of doubt and uncertainties; it can take cognizance of the narcissistic rage and the masochistic mortgage of one's little self to other dimensions of existence. This subjective brush with death shakes him into a new awareness of his individuality. Soon he realizes how unreal and imaginary his rage is against Madeleine who "refused to grant him a look of recognition" (p. 305). Max F. Shulz views the auto-accident as the symbolic death or the old self.[15] Indeed, Herzog now "knows what it was to be free from Madeleine" (p. 320). The remission of pain on the psychic level is no small gain. In symbolic terms, their psychological experience at the mid-point of his life has vital consequences, in that it suggests an individuated personality, a mind that identifies itself with a more integrated approach to life and things, that the second part of life shall not be the pale vestige of the years goneby.

Happy at dying the death of his persona as Madeleine's husband, Herzog is a different man, having assimilated, through his experience of the Amina, "an enriching of conscious psychological life."[16] There was a certain touch of the infantile feeling in his early projections on Madeliene when he married her. It was natural for, till then, his experience of the Anima was predominantly maternal. While leading a regular, stable life with Daisy – an extension of his mother, he might not have secured and integrated fresh gains into a rarefied view of his facticity. Looking at Herzog's growth one may aver that "perhaps it was a question of the right woman, all along" (p. 221). And, Madeleine, as Herzog tells his brother, Will, "seems to have filled a special need" (p. 341). The encounter with the dark aspect of Feminine made him wrestle with impenetrable complexities and storm into many an intellectual citadel. Of course, he could not have fought his battles single-handed with the singular masculine charge. This 'need' was filled by the modern-day Isis, Herzog's florist friend Ramona. She is no Beatrice who will escort him into a paradise, nor a Dido who will burn herself on a pyre when the hero in him takes him to new continents of experience. She is a Companion on the Open Road; she is the 'priestess' who has baptized him with 'goodness' and 'passion'.

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and vitally contributed to his ability to relate with reality in an authentic way. He will not buy Wastelandish wares or the opinion of the absurdists :

> We must get it out of our heads that this is a doomed time, that we are waiting for the end and the rest of it mere junk from fashionable magazines. Things are grim enough without these shivery games (p. 324).

And he is resolved to "share with other human beings as far as possible" (p. 329); he is "pretty well satisfied to be, to be just as it is willed . . . Perhaps he'd stop writing letters . . . he was done with these letters" (pp. 347-8). Yes, the querulous complaints are over.

Putting aside the polemics and conundrums, the intellectual riot and lacerating wounds on the emotional firmament, Herzog undergoes a process of death and rebirth. He also commands resources in a more meaningful and expensive gesture of commitment to life. There is in him, a softness of mood and feeling that can lead to vital, vivid relationships. His loving, persuasive gestures to his brother, Will, bear this authentic touch, assuring him that he does not need a psychiatrist. Later, we see him picking flowers in his Berkshire garden, lying on his Recamier couch, waiting for his Florist-Friend Ramona. Before Herzog launches into life with his new clarified awareness, he is placed in his countryside retreat, close in touch with Mother earth, the feminine realm of nature, where 'the stars were near like spiritual bodies', the harsh call of the crows 'delicious', the thrushes at the dusk, the owl at night, the roses winding about the rain spout, birds gorging in the mulberry tree – all the verities of Nature.

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1. Saul Bellow, *Herzog* (1964; rpt. Harmondsworth : Penguin Books, 1978), p. 23. All subsequent references to this novel are given parenthetically in the text.
2. C.G. Jung, *Four Archetypes : Mother Rebirth Spirit Trickster* (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), p. 16. Jung uses these words to explain the three – Sattva, Rajas, Tamas, (translated into english as goodness, passion and darkness). Jung develops all this from the Sankhya Philosophy. According to him, the special feature of this myth which shows Prakriti dancing before Purusha in order to remind him of discriminating knowledge, does not belong to the Mother Archetype but to the archetype of the Anima, mingled with Mother archetype in man's psyche.
3. In Jungian terms, Shadow refers to the repressed side of personality, be it dark or bright. It is experienced through projections on to others. The ego mediates between the Shadow and the persona.
4. Edward F. Edinger, *Ego and Archetype* (Baltimore : Penguin Books Inc., 1974), p. 161.
5. Ibid.
6. Peter Coukoulis, *Guru Psychotherapist and Self* (California : De Verss & Co., 1976), p. 6
7. Edward F. Edinger, op. cit., p. 43.

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8 An Amozonian woman has negative aspects too, supplants the male with her own masculanity. In myths, Amazons deprive their male offspring of their ability to fight. In man-woman relationship, such psychic trips on the part of a woman can have a very debilitating effect on the male counterpart.

9. See Tom Chetwynd, *A Dictionary of Symbols* (London : Granada Publishing Ltd., 1982), p. 178.

10. Max F. Shulz, *Radical Sophistication : Studies in Contemporary Jewish American Novelists* (Athens : Ohio Univ. Press, 1969), p. 134.

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12. Robert R. Dutton, *Saul Bellow* (Boston : Twayne Publishers, 1971), p. 133.

13. Abraham H. Maslow, *Towards A Psychology of Being* (Princeton : D. Van/Nostrand Co., Inc., 1962), pp. 97-108.

14. Edward F, Edinger, *Ego and Archetype,* p. 161.

15. Max F. Shulz, op. cit., p. 123

16. C.G. Jung, *Psychological Types* (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 450, para 762. As a result of his encounters with the archetype of the Eternal Feminine, Herzog has distinct gains in his conscious resources.

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BROWNING'S DRAMATIC MONOLOGUE : A STUDY IN 'INTERIOR STILLNESS'

Rama Nair

As a poet, Browning experimented with three different literary genres - the lyric, the drama, and the epic or narrative poetry. Browning used these traditional modes to explore the potential of each to fulfil his poetic needs. His experiments resulted in the emergence of a flexible mode of poetry commonly referred to as 'the dramatic monologue'. It is interesting to note that Browning himself never used this term. The dramatic monologue is a combination of the generic forms of drama and the lyric, its purpose being to trace 'incidents in the soul'.

In 1855 two volumes called *Men and Women* were published. They contained a total of fifty poems plus an epilogue. In 1863, only thirteen poems were retained under the title. These poems were termed as dramatic lyrics. The poems were primarily dramatic; and since they were not written for the stage, Browning was free from the conventional restrictions of ordinary dramatic structure. He could dispense with plot, and action, and concentrate instead, on 'action in character'.

A remarkable characteristic of the dramatic monologue was its form. It was for the major part written in blank verse, and the iambic metre used comes very close to the rhythms of ordinary speech - the purpose being to make the 'monologues ' colloquial, and hence natural. This particular technique acquires significance when we examine the aim of the dramatic monologue. The chief purpose of the poet is to reveal himself; " a self-revelatory poem is both lyric, in so far as it is, an 'emanation of the poet's essence', and dramatic, in so far as the poet displays in all his various characters 'fragments of himself'."[1]

Browning's statement of 1868 that his earliest attempts were at writing 'poetry always dramatic in principle, and so many utterances of so many imaginary persons, not mine,"[2] can be interpreted in terms of a poetry where 'dramatic' cease to be merely 'impersonal' and acquires the wider connotations of self – dramatization'.

In the dramatic monologue, a distinction has to be made between the poet and the speaker. To the poet, the central character of the poem is the principal figure. But, for the speaker, the poem moulds itself in accordance

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with his own analysis of his present psychological crisis. Such an analysis indicates an objective attitude on the part of the poet, but the speaker, ironically enough, betrays himself through the nuances of language techniques to discredit himself totally in the eyes of the reader. the speaker does not articulate his predicament, instead through a series of revealing statements the 'taints'of his inner soul are exposed. This ironic self-betrayal is what makes the poems 'dramatic in principle'.

In the dramatic monologue "the words of a single speaker (who was clearly not the poet) could convey to the reader a setting, a present action, and a sense of who was listening to the speaker."[3] Further, the action in a dramatic monologue is 'mental', psychological, verbal." The important action is the act "of arguing ' pleading, informing, reminiscing of, meditating aloud or of justifying oneself."[4]

This is, by and large, the conventional approach to the study of the dramatic monologue. This paper attempts to redefine the concept of the dramatic monologue in terms of an 'interior dialogue' where the duality of the speaker and the 'unseen listener' is resolved, and both become 'interiorised'.

On the philosophical level, the duality of the self can be likened to the following image from the *Upanishads* :

> "Like two birds of golden plumage, inseparable companions, the individual self and the immortal self are perched on the branches of the self-same tree. The former tastes of the sweet and bitter fruits of the tree; the latter, tasting of neither, calmly observes. The individual self, deluded by forgetfulness of its identity with the divine self, grieves and is sad . . . . "[5]

At this point, philosophy and psychology merge to create a level of transcendence which unites the two perspectives. As Jung states ". . . psychology, being the study of psychic processes,can be brought to bear upon the study of literature, for the human psyche is the womb of all the sciences and the arts."[6] Besides, it can also "reveal the factors that make a person artistically creative."[7]

If the human psyche is the origin of our neuroses, it can also be the seat of our creativity. In fact " . . . the personal idiosyncrasies that creep into a work of art are not essential . . . what is essential in a work of art is that it should rise far above the realm of personal life and speak from the spirit and heart of the poet as man to the spirit and heart of mankind."[8]

The relation between the poet and the reader was one of Browning's major concerns. His dramatic monologues commend the technical virtuosity of the poet in his ability to create various personas with different voices. But

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Browning later realised "that poetry which served only to swell the self esteem of the poet had little value, and that the true worth of poetry lay in the extent to which it could enlarge the reader's sympathy, stimulate his imagination, and contribute to his moral development."[9]

Every philosophy holds that there is an underlying pattern of order in the universe. Once the pattern in disturbed, chaos follows. So also with the human psyche. The mind in each individual expresses this sense of order or disorder. When there is no harmony, discordant notes predominate. The self is in conflict within itself. When psychic disorders prevail there is a truncation of the unified self. How does the truncated self achieve a semblance of unity and peace ? The mind has its own mechanism of self-defence.

Browning was an ardent champion of individualism. In his dramatic monologues the hidden terrain of the soul, that area which remains inarticulate, dark and tortured, finds expression in a unique form. The aim of his dramatic monologues was to promote self-realization. But formalized systems of thought conforming to the conventions of society do not permit a 'natural' and 'free' expression. The spontaneous response to an uncertain situation leading to a resolution through the mode of psychological and philosophical reflection - that is the theme of Browning 's dramatic monologues.

The dramatic monologues then become 'interior dislogues' within the self with the self. The unseen listener becomes an extension of the psychic self. It is not mere listening that the self is subjected to – the varying streams of thought jostle, mingle, separate. And out of the chaotic meanderings is born the moment of self -realization. The thinking process becomes the central reality. The very process of thinking, philosophizing, recollecting, and discoursing transforms the identify of the 'hidden listener' into an extension of the speaker's self. This 'dialogue' within the self reiterates the 'fragmented' mind's attempts at reorganising itself into a unified whole.

Such an 'interior dialogue' acquires meaning and substance because one can go beyond the restrictions imposed by fixed conditions of thought. Browning's dramatic monologues can in these terms be defined as 'interior dialogues' because this is just what they intend to do.

One can take the example of the character of the Duke of Ferrara in 'My Last Duchess'. The frightening image of the Duke which emerges from the complex interplay of thought and emotion is that of an arrogant and ruthless 'nobleman' who is contemptuous of all, but himself. The Duke, in fact, is constantly reassuring himself of his power and his undisputed 'supremacy' which his 'nine-hundred -years -old name' bequeathed him. His condemnation of the Duchess because "she had/A heart . . . how shall I say ?. . . too soon made glad,/Too easily impressed; she liked what'er/She looked on, and her looks went everywhere'/,and his just' punishment for such indiscreet

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behaviour '. . . this grew; I gave commands/Then, all smiles stopped together./" triumphantly vindicate, in his assessment, his foul act of destroying an innocent life. This is his moment of self-realization – that no-one and nothing can deprive him of his uncontrollable power to do what he wills. His subsequent remarks to the count's envoy prove this. Browning was not concerned with moral judgements. His interest in human behaviour delighted in the portrayal of characters, however unpleasant or unheroic.

In 'Andrea del Sarto' Browning deals, similarly, with the subject of failure. Andrea fails both as a lover and as an artist. He fails to exploit his faultless painter's technique, and is scorned and humiliated by his adulterous wife. Lucrezia is supposed to be the hidden listener, but the poem is a dramatic portrayal of Andrea's ultimate moral degradation revealed through Andrea's own tortuous self-analysis. His objective self acknowledges the weaknesses as expressed by the psychic self. The poem begins on a pleading note, "But do not let us quarrel any more,/No, my Lucrezia; bear with me once./ Sit down and all shall happen as you wish./" Lucrezia is the perfect objective correlative of his art - technically perfect, but lecking in spirit. Looking at Lucrezia's Contemptuous smile he weakly accepts her constricting hold on him. 'You smile? Why, there's my picture ready made./ There's what we painters call our harmony !' Andrea has even lost the capacity for self-deception. The sterility of his life is reflected in the physical landscape for "... days decrease/And autumn grows, autumn in everything/. . . . the whole seems to fall into a shape /As if I saw alike my work and self/And all that I was born to be and do,/ a twlight piece.'

Through the course of this interior dialogue, Andrea expresses his hopes, his fears, his regret and finally his 'apparent' acceptance of his defeat. But to him, ironically, even in his defeat. lies his happiness, his contentment. Towards the end of his agonising self-analysis, his conclusion is 'I am grown peaceful as old age to-night/I regret little, I would change still less./ " He would still choose Lucrezia, and he would continue to endure her taunts and her infidelity. The 'Interior dialogue' alters one's perspective on and perception of reality. When the reflective self analyses itself, the restrictions and limitations of expressed thought dissolve, and the duality of self is neutralised. Conflicts and tensions are stilled in the moment of self-realization. This is the moment of creativity. The 'interior dialogue' is creative because it activates the creative self.

As Jung observes, 'Every creative person is a duality or a synthesis of contradictory aptitudes. On the one side he is a human being with a personal life, while on the other side he is an impersonal, creative process. Since as a human being he may be sound or morbid, we must look at his psychic make-up to find the determinants of his personality."[10] The 'interior dialogue' analyses such determinants.

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In 'Fra Lippo Lippi', the persona is a non-conformist, a rebel. Fra Lippo rejects traditional forms of ecclesiastical art. He is told by the monks "Your business is not to catch men with show,/ with homage to the perishable clay,/ But lift them over it, Ignore it all./ . . . Your business is to paint the souls of men."Fra Lippo's retort is "If you get simple beauty and naught else,/ You get about the best thing, God invents; That's somewhat; and you'll find the soul you have missed,/ within yourself, when you return him thanks."His moment of self-realization occurs when he acknowledges that 'The world and life's too big to pass for a dream,/ and I do these wild things in sheer despite,/And play the fooleries you catch me at / In pure rage." Conformity to tradition kills the intuitive spirit. Fra Lippo's intuitive perception of the higher reality underlying the world of appearances heightens his moral stature.

It is in these 'interior dialogues ' that Browning comes closest to the techniques of meditation. Meditation can occur only through concentration. Concentration, meditation and finally absorption culminate in self realisation. The unseen listener thus becomes an image of the speaker himself. All this is the result of intuitive, introspective stillness. As the Yoga texts say :

> in order to control the mind we have to get to know it. Few of us know, objectively, what the insides of our mind are really like. Our dominating fears and desires have become so familiar to us that we do not even notice them; they are like recurring drumbeats going on in the background of our thoughts. . . And so . . . . it is good to spend some time everyday simply watching our minds, listening to those drumbeats . . . . The mind finding itself watched in this way, will gradually grow calmer . . . . For no amount of outside criticism is so effective and so penetrating as our own simple self inspection.[11]

Therefore, the concept of the interior dialogue' does lead to some advance towards awareness of mental stillness as a mode of knowledge.

The intensity of one's contradictory responses to one's own moment of crisis can be resolved through the mode of reflective analysis. Though Browning's characters are different from each other, they all share this one feature in common," a conviction, an intimation that there is some truth a little beyond their comprehension, the realisation of which would alter the whole of their values (the moment of true emotional faith)".[12] Thus the 'interior dialogue' determines in no uncertain way, the individual's subsequent actions.

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MARK TWAIN, SLAVERY AND THE DAMNED HUMAN RACE

Madhu Joshi

The power of telling the truth" [1] was what Lionel Trilling had found remarkable about Samuel Langhorne Clemens's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884). Indeed, it is the truth, the unadulterated and bitter truth, that Clemens, better known as Mark Twain, presents whenever he deals with the twin issues of slavery and emancipation. Consequently, the treatment of slavery in his fictional works often startles one and makes one wonder about his real attitude towards these inseparable issues. This complexity has troubled critics, so often that many of them do not hesitate in levelling a charge of racism against Twain. Such critics insist that there is a note of supercilious , albeit unintentional, superiority in his treatment of the Blacks.

However, an impartial and chronological reading of Twain's novels and short stories makes it clear that when Twain talks smugly and disparagingly about the Blacks, whether enslaved or free, he reflects not his own attitude but that of the world around him which, incidentally, often perplexed and even nauseated Twain. His own sense of sympathy and respect – which, one must admit, is not very apparant initially – grows and develops as he delves deeper into the perplexing and unjust issue of slavery. Like the immortal and endearing Huck Finn, Twain views the issue of slavery and the treatment of the Blacks, as he views everything else around him, with impassive clarity. Yet, even as he tries to play the role of a dispassionate observer he often fails when the enormity of the problem and the sheer magnitude of the injustice strike him with full force. This dispassionate yet involved scrutiny prompts one to say that, as far as the treatment of the issue of slavery is concerned, Twain is certainly the most realistic and graphic of all the nineteenth century American authors.

In order to understand how the theme of slavery has actually been dealt with by Twain, one would do well to peep into his childhood and his youth to try to understand the sort of human being and literary artist that he was. Before his birth Twain's parents John Marshall and Jane Clemens had lived in Jamestown, Tennessee, with four children and *a slave*. By the time Twain was born, on 30 November 1835, his family had shifted to Florida, Missouri. When Twain was four years old, his father moved to Hannibal, Missouri. Twain lived here until he was eighteen years old. Thus, ever since he was born,

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Twain had come in contact with slaves and slavery. There is no evidence to suggest that the young Samuel was, in any way, moved or upset when, in 1842, his father sold an old family slave Charley for ten barrels of tar worth forty dollars in Natches. For him slavery was a way of life and he unquestioningly accepted it, with all its shortcomings and discriminatory assumptions.

During his travels along the Mississippi Twain had often come in contact with the system of slavery. One very interesting fact about Twain's career is that he had actually taken part in the Civil War as a Confederate soldier. Leslie Fiedler, who feels that the Civil War had left a marked and lasting impression on Twain, points out that,"The Civil War is the watershed in Twain's life between innocence and manhood, joy and pain; but it was politically, of course, the dividing line between slavery and freedom."[2]. Another vital factor which went a long way in moulding Mark Twain's attitude towards the Blacks was his marriage, in 1870, to the genteel Easterner Olivia Langdon. Olivia and her father were sharply aware of the evils of slavery and racial discrimination. Consequently, in this as in many other things, father and daughter acted as "sentries, looking over his shoulders"[3] and played an important role in shaping Twain's attitude towards slavery. Thus, the forces that influenced Twain's attitude towards slavery were many and varied. This is clearly evident in the treatment of the Blacks, slaves as well as freed men, in his works.

In the begining of his career Twain's attitude towards the Blacks mirrored all the prejudices that were to be found anywhere against the much maligned Black race. Thus, in 1853, he told his readers that they can tell about the approach of summer by the fact that the towns "fat lazy niggers" begin to "sweet and look greasy"[4] around this time, Arthur J. Pettit justifies his statement that "black body odour"[5] had been a favourite with Twain during the 1850s and 1860s by quoting various examples where Twain equates "a polecat a slaughter house, a soap factory, a graveyard after an earthquake and a perspiring black man".[6] In other places where Twain openly scorns whites marrying "a Nagur" or where he unashamedly cracks jokes about "a steak off that dead nigger,"[7]. Twain makes no bones about the contempt in which he holds the Black race. There was a marked change in this obviously derogatory attitude after Twain met Olivia Langdon in the late eighteen sixties. In 1867 he used "nigger" for the last time without quotation marks – except, of course, in *Huck Finn* – and soon 'nigger' was replaced by "contraband", "freedom", "colored" and then "darkey". By the time he got engaged to Olivia, Twain was calling the Blacks "negro".[8]

The change of heart became apparent when, in 1870, Twain spoke out against racial violence in Panama. In *The Gilded Age* (1873) he dealt with social indignities, making "Colonel" Beriah Sellers, who calls the Blacks "niggros" the butt of his criticism. Arthur Pettit is of the opinion that Colonel

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Sellers "is a sort of flesh-and-blood Doppelganger of the unreconstructed Sam Clemens of the 1860s. And by 1873, the epitome of everything that Mark Twain found reprehensible"[9].

During the decade between 1874 and 1884, in a burst of creative energy, Twain went back to the land of his youth – to the South, as he thought it had been during his childhood and early youth. It was a nostalgic pilgrimage to the happy land which, Twain was soon to discover, existed only in his dreams. The first stop in this expedition was "A True Story" published in *The Atlantic Monthly* in November 1874, with the editor William Dean Howells greeting it as "one of the best short pieces he had ever read".[10]

It is clear that "in the early 1870s Mark Twain was no more out to champion blacks than he was out to get niggers. He was neither negrophile nor negrophobe; like most Americans he stood somewhere in between"[11]. This is exactly how one feels on reading *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876). In this book, meant mainly for young boys the small Black boy Jim (incidentally, no relation of *Huck Finn's* Nigger Jim) is said to be "only human"[12] when, like any other white boy, he cannot resist the temptation of seeing *Tom Sawyer's* sore toe. He leads the life of a happy-go-lucky servant, and not once is one made to feel that his load is ever made heavier due to his race and colour. In *Tom Sawyer* there is no hint of the battle between moral dilemmas and social taboos that will take place in *Huck Finn*. All that one sees here are the "white, mulatto and negro boys,"[13] including Jim, Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn, playing together at the water pump.

In July 1876, exactly one century after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and immediately after the publication of *Tom Sawyer*, Twain began writing *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. The major specific issue on which Twain focuses attention in *Huck Finn* is the one related to slavery. Sterling A. Brown asserts that in Huck Finn 'the callousness of the South to the Negro is indicated . . . without preaching but impellingly".[14] Written during the Reconstruction – one of the darkest periods for American race relations – *Huck Finn* can be called a confessional portrait of the age in which the Southern Blacks had suffered even worse indignities and injustices than they were being subjected to as freedmen. What made the picture more poignant and realistic was the act that the society in question was the one which had nurtured Twain when he was a child and an adolescent.

Thus, when Twain takes up cudgels on behalf of two helpless fugitives running away in search of freedom, or when he effectively portrays what Albert Bigelow Paine terms "Huck's struggle . . . between conscience and the law on one side and sympathy on the other"[15] he gives the impression that he is talking about issues that are very close to his heart. He was obviously aware of the anachronism between the happy memories of his childhood and their

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dependence on a system which he now realized, was utterly unjust and inhuman.

Leslie Fiedler points out that in *Huck Finn* this contradiction "is preserved with all the power of its tension"[16]. Unlike *Tom Sawyer*, *Huck Finn* deals with all the dark aspects of Southern life – specially those related to the institution of slavery as it existed in the 1840s – and realistically portrays "the remembered splendors and squalors of a bygone Southern civilization".[17]

The culminating point of *Huck Finn* is the point at which Huck defiantly states, "All right, I'll go to hell. (for Jim's sake)".[18] Undoubtedly, this is the finest moment of the novel, just as it is the finest moment in Huck's relationship with Jim. This is the point where Huck finally accepts Jim as a friend and a human being. In choosing to go to hell Huck, at long last, if only temporarily, manages to rid himself of *all* the shackles of Southern society. The various crises in the Huck-Jim relationship had clearly been building up towards this final disillusionment and initiation.

Yet, for all its finesse and psychological insight, this moment, too, cannot be called the ultimate, in so far as it is a condemnation of the unjust system of slavery. The readers cannot help noticing that even as Huck bravely arrives at the momentous decision about going to hell, he is expressing his faith in Jim's individual humanity and not his faith in the humanity of the entire slave population. His decision is prompted mainly by his realization of Jim's goodness and not only by his awareness of the evils of the system of slavery. Even when one grants that in this particular instance Jim's goodness triumphs over an obviously cruel system, one cannot say that from this point onwards Huck decides to take up cudgels on behalf of all the slaves. Realist that he was, Twain makes it clear that "Slavery hasn't been dislodged; it is only Jim who is no longer for sale. Huck will be damned for devotion to a single black man, not for repudiation of the peculiar institution *as* an institution".[19] Probably, it was this that Twain was trying to prove when he introduced Tom Sawyer to take command of Huck's plan for freeing Jim from Phelps farm.

The last section of *Huck Finn*, which spans nearly a hundred pages, has often been criticized for being a let-down, specially since it follows Huck's brave exposition of Jim's humanity. Indeed, many readers and critics are of the opinion that after Huck Finn's widely-acclaimed "wicked" decision, the book gradually retrogresses until at last it reaches a point where Jim, with typical "nigger-like" devotion, risks his freedom to help Tom Sawyer who had no qualms in illtreating him. Yet, if one studies *Huck Finn* dispassionately, with an open mind, one starts feeling at one with David L. Smith when he argues that, "It is in the final chapters – the Tom Sawyer section – which most critics consider the weakest part of the book, that Twain links his criticism of slavery and Southern romanticism, condemning the cruelties

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which both of these traditions entail".[20] The reasons for this defence are not hard to find.

Indeed, the Tom Sawyer section of the book is a very subtle yet bitter indictment of the institution of slavery as well as the American civilization in general. What Twain is trying to say is that "Jim can be freed from bondage but not from the indignity of being black".[21] What better, or should one say, worse proof of this can there be than in the fact that Jim, inspite of his freedom is not immune to the sadistic manipulations of Tom Sawyer. Tom shows very little concern for the Black man's feelings and no regard for him as a human being. For him, forty dollars paid at the end of the drama will make up for all the indignities he has heaped on Jim, not that he would ever have admitted to perpetrating any indignities. Having ruefully and critically noticed the plight of the Blacks in the ante-bellum period, during the Civil War, and during the Reconstruction, Twain did not have any unrealistically optimistic views about race-relations in America. Thus, the only "appealing and optimistic message that the readers can derive from *Huck Finn* is that while the conclusion presents things as they were, the idyllic middle-section suggests how they ought to be.

After *Huck Finn*, whenever Twain tried to recreate its magic with the help of its fascinating trio, Huck, Jim and Tom, his attempts were, as Neil Schmitz puts it, "dismal failures".[22] Soon after completing *Huck Finn*, Twain made an attempt to transplant the trio to the West in *Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer Among the Indians* but he left the story in mid-sentence. The only fact about the story that deserves attention is that Jim, who had formerly planned to get his family back by fair means or foul, forgets all about his daring plans when he is free – a far cry from the Jim who had, in *Huck Finn*, shed copious tears for his deaf and mute daughter whom he had treated unjustly. The next time the readers meet Jim and his white companions is in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, in which the three of them go for an around-the-world trip in a balloon. In this novel, too, Jim is a mere "nigger", or, as Huck now prefers to call him a "darkey". As in the final section of *Huck Finn*, here, too, Huck joins Tom in all the bizzare and mean tricks that the latter plays on Jim. Nowhere do the readers get any indication of the affection and the understanding that had formerly existed between Huck and Jim.

The last novel based on the theme of slavery that the enigmatic Twain wrote was published in 1894, nine years after the publication of *Huck Finn*, as *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson*. As was the case with *Huck Finn*, in writing *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, too Twain appears to have been driven by some inner compulsion, before which he found himself totally helpless. In 1889, soon after completing *A connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (which also has a few Black characters) Twain had written to William Dean Howells that he had left out many things from the book and they still "burn in me; and

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they keep multiplying . . . they would require a library – and a pen warmed up in hell".[23] As he wrote *Pudd'nhead Wilson* Twain's pen was, indeed, "warmed up in hell". This is what makes the book one of the sharpest and bitterest indictments of slavery, racial prejudice and miscegenation, ever to be written. It comes across as a very daring and complex tale of slavery and miscegenation which perplexes and confounds as it dramatically presents the plight of all those who are debased and destroyed by the far-reaching, octopus like hands of the vicious system of slavery.

It is on the "fiction of law and custom . . . [which make a man] a negro"[24] that Twain focuses attention in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. It is this that looms quietly, ominously and darkly in the background throughout the novel. In *Huck Finn* Twain had confined most of the attention to the mental and moral dilemma of a young uninitiated boy. In its successor *Pudd'nhead Wilson* he unflincingly focuses attention on the brutal aspects of slavery, as it exists in and for an entire society – Dawson's Landing, in this case. Through a mix-up in the identities of a "white" slave and a "white" master, Twain tries to show how flimsy and indefensible are the laws which make one man free while they condemn another to life long servitude.

Indeed, Twain has little good to say about slavery in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. Right from the very beginning it is not the mild and, one feels almost tempted to say, idyllic slavery of *Huck Finn* that the readers are gently introduced to. Instead, it is the stark, unadulterated, unwhitewashed truth about the evils of slavery that is unmasked before the unsuspecting readers who are doggedly and uncompromisingly forced to confront the bitter reality about an obviously unjust and vicious system. The fear that prompts Roxy to exchange the babies and the terrors inflicted on her in the Arkansas plantation appear to be very real and palpable to the discerning readers. Her account of her travails down South is realistic enough to strike terror into the hearts of anybody familiar with the workings of the "peculiar institution". Thus, while *Huck Finn* gently deals with the mental and moral dilemma of a good-natured boy, *Pudd'nhead Wilson* exposes the detestable facts about slavery, racial distinctions and miscegenation in their most undiluted form.

Having condemned the institution of slavery in two different, yet equally effective, books – gently and almost romantically in *Huck Finn* and urgently and relentlessly in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* – Twain returned to the same theme, again and again, but with little success. Arthur J. Pettit says of Twain's post-*Pudd'nhead Wilson* slavery output that "In his last efforts to call up the bygone South, Mark Twain kept coming up with nightmare images of violence, sex and hypocrisy, white and black alike".[25] Most of these works were left unfinished. One of the few to be completed "The United States of Lyncherdom" was written in 1901. Inspired by an atrocity committed in Twain's state, it begins thus : "And so Missouri has fallen that great state : Certain of her

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children have joined the lynchers and the smirch is upon the rest of us".[26] The article was published twenty years later. It was supposed to have been part of a proposed book on the history of lynching for which, Twain had said, he would need just the daily newspaper and a pair of scissors. – The book was never written. In 1902 Twain shelved an unfinished manuscript called "Which was It ?" In this book one meets the free mulatto Jasper who becomes a ruthless avenger due to the utterly inhuman treatment that is meted out to him. Referring to him Pettit writes, "To take Jasper seriously as a symbol is to hear Mark Twain saying there will be no reconciliation of black and white. There will be nothing but bigotry, hatred and violence".[27] Nothing else could have been expected from someone who was convinced by then that Blacks and Whites, Slaves and Freedmen alike, were members of one pitiable family, the family that Twain liked to call "the damned human race".

Indeed, the charges the Twain levels against slavery, miscegenation, lynching and racial prejudice are part of the invective that he directs against the human race, in general. As early as 1871, Twain had referred to human beings as "small reptiles" and "worms", and in 1898 he had remarked, "Man is a museum of diseases, a home of impurities. He begins as dirt and departs as stench".[28] Of all the evil deeds committed by such supposedly despicable beings, Whites as well as Blacks, Twain had considered war and slavery to be the unholiest".[29] Since Twain was always eager to scold and reform the errant human race, it is not surprising that he had so much to say on the issues of slavery and racial discrimination.

Initially, however, like most of his contemporaries, Twain "looked at the black man across an impassable chasm and was mystified, nagged and frightened by the enigmatic face that stared back at him".[30] Yet, the more he dealt with this Black "face" the more he was struck by the magnitude of the injustice done to the Black race. Eventually, Twain was able to view the Blacks, not as separate and peculiar sub-human entities, but as members of the "damned human race", no more contemptible or, for that matter, noble than their White brethren. This does not imply that Twain was unaware of the wrongs inflicted on the Blacks . The final impression that one has is of "the free-thinking, free-spoken democratic Twain",[31] who was able to overcome his prejudices to emerge as a vociferous supporter of the American slave's right to liberty, equality and dignity.

NOTES

1. Richard Chase, *The American Novel and its Tradition* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1957), p. 143.
2. Ibid., p. 153.
3. Arthur G. Pettit, *Mark Twain and the South* (Lexington, Kentucky : The Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1974), p. 42.
4. Ibid., p. 41.

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5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., pp. 40-41.
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8. Ibid., p. 43.
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11. Pettit, *Mark Twain and the South*, p. 47.
12. Samuel Langhorne Clemens, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (New York : Lancer, 1967), pp. 11, 21.
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19. Pettit, *Mark Twain and the South* , p. 118.
20. David L. Smith, " Huck Jim, and American Racial Discourse" *Mark Twain Journal*, 22, No 2 (Fall, 1984), 8.
21. Pettit, *Mark Twain and the South*, p. 121-22
22. Neil Schmitz, "Twain, 'Huckleberry Finn' and the Reconstruction" : *American Studies*, 12, No 1 (Spring 1971), p. 66.
23. Smith and Gibson, ed., *Mark Twain-Howells Letters*, II, p. 613.
24. Barbara M. Chellis, "Those Extraordinary Twins : Negroes and Whites, " *American Quarterly*, 21, No. 1 (Spring 1969), p. 26.
25. Pettit, *Mark Twain and the South*, p. 166.
26. Janet Smith, ed., *Mark Twain on the Damned Human Race* (New York : Hill and Wang, 1962, p. 97.
27. Pettit, *Mark Twain and the South*, p. 173.
28. Azizuddin Tariq, "Mark Twain and the Damned Human Race", in *Asian Response to American Literature*, ed. C.D. Narsimhaiah (Delhi : Vikas Publication, 1972), p. 201.
29. Ibid., p. 202.
30. Schmitz, "Twain, 'Huckleberry Finn and the Reconstruction", *American Studies*, p. 65.
31. Marcus Cunliffe, *The Literature of the United States* Baltimore, maryland : Pelican, 1961), p. 166.

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INTER-TEXTUALITY, SELF-REFLEXIVITY AND SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS IN MURDOCH'S *THE BLACK PRINCE*

Diamond Oberoi Vahali

> My book is about art. It is also, in its humble way, a work of art : an art object, as the jargon has it; and may perhaps be permitted, now and then, to cast a look upon itself.
>
> Iris Murdoch, *The Black Prince*[1]

In art, self-consciousness is opposed to referentiality. Self-conscious art is that art which does not seek to relate itself to the reality or experiences outside but with art itself or its culture. It projects its own self, its aesthetic identity. This it does by planting within itself signals which force the reader to recognise its aesthetic operations and being. Since this self is aesthetic by virtue of its being formal as opposed to contingent, a self-conscious text draws attention to its aesthetic self by foregrounding its formal features and techniques. Thus many a traditional novel tried to appear referential when it imitated such contingent modes as biography and history. This is not to say that this fiction was not formalised or paid less attention to techniques; infact, it sought to blur its aesthetic self. Self-conscious fiction by contrast asserts its formal character, its fictiveness; it foregrounds what has been called the 'fictionality of fiction.' Such a text contains within itself discussions and reflections on its nature, its mechanics and rationale, Self-reflexive fiction marks an advance on self-conscious fiction. If the latter is concerned with exposing its inner mechanisms and processes, self-reflexive fiction makes its own self its very subject. So that a self-reflexive work reflects only itself; the text is a mirror text in which we see perpetual duplications as in a Chinese box. Kellman in his *The Self-begetting Novel* defines self-begetting fiction as narcissistic and autogamous; self-reflexive fiction is very close to self-begetting fiction. Like self-begetting fiction, this fiction too abounds with inter-textuality and a network of cross-references.[2] In such a text, many times the characters, overtly or covertly, undergo experiences or perform acts which serve as metaphors for the processes which have actually gone into the making of the text itself.

Right from the start, Iris Murdoch's fiction has been very self-conscious. In her fiction a number of characters are seen engaged in manipulating

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others, plotting their destinies according to their own private, egotistic fantasies. These characters are characterized in terms of their machinations and schemes which all reflexively enlighten us about the way the novelist herself tries to contain the characters within her own form. However, in her early fiction, self-reflexivity operated largely covertly through such plotter-characters. This paper studies self-consciousness and self-reflexivity in her 1973 novel. *The Black Prince* where self-reflexivity is very overt and explicit.

Both in its use of main characters who are artists themselves and in various formal features like inter-textuality and forms within the form, *The Black Prince* is a highly self-conscious text. It portrays an aesthetic universe and gives us definitions of the artist, beauty and its relation with truth. It also contains discussions and reflections on irony and comedy and discusses at length the relationship between the artist and his art. The novel warns us against the extensionalist fallacy; art and life are not synonymous and hence should be kept separate. The text makes it quite explicit that life is contingent whereas art is patterned. What happens in art does not necessarily, in the same way, happen in life. On the subject of the relationship between the creator and his art, the book argues that art is the depersonalisation of self. Art is cold and objective. Though the book emphasises art for art's sake, it yet believes that this kind of view of beauty is narrow. Art as art is beautiful but art cannot be divorced from truth or life, either : "Art is a vain and hollow show, a toy of gross illusion, unless it points beyond itself and moves even whither it points" (p. 392).

In *The Black Prince*, self-reflexivity operates at the level of characters. The text employs characters who are artists themselves. Murdoch is quite self-reflexive about the use of such characters, for she shows them struggling with the problems of writing. The dilemmas and issues that every writer faces are embodied in the two characters' struggles in the text. The desire for perfection finds expression in Bradley Pearson and the contrary desire for proliferation is seen in Arnold Baffin. A.S. Byatt comments, "If Baffin is journalistic, Bradley is crystalline, holding the Murdochian, Eliotean ideal of impersonality and truth . . . [3]. Thus the novelists within the novel reflect the dilemma which is every artist's in general and Murdoch's in particular[4]. The novel further reflects on the relationship between the author and his or her characters. The predicament facing the novelist derives from his love for characters which demands that they be respected in all their contingency and growth-potential and the contrary urge in the novelist to enclose the characters in a neat, patterned form. This form is frequently a working out of the novelist's fantasy and can be destructive of the characters' freedom and contingency.

The very beginning of Bradley Pearson's "*The Black Prince*" is concerned with the issue of beginnings in fiction. Pearson is a very self-conscious artist;

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he lays bare his formal dilemma as to where to begin, with whom to open his narrative; and his chief consideration is that the opening should be "dramatically effective, capable of engaging the reader's interest." This becomes a self reflexive clue to the problem that every artist faces. A writer is free to begin the book anywhere he likes but at the same time has to consider the issue of dramatic effectiveness. Bradley suggests four beginnings : Arnold Baffin's call; Francis Manloe as the first speaker; Rachel's tears; or Priscilla's tears. The reader is thus invited to look into the very construction of the text. For the book actually begins not with Bradley's formal dilemma but with a fictive editor's Foreword. Where does Murdoch's novel begin ? The text thus reminds the reader that all beginnings in fiction are in a way arbitrary, not inevitable. The text thus becomes a writerly text[5] by promoting the reader's active participation in its 'making'. Further, Bradley's "*The Black Prince*" is part of the novel *The Black Prince*; and the text resembles a Chinese box.[6] The novel is very similar to Nabokov's *Pale Fire* or Doris Lessing's *The Golden Notebook*. In *Pale Fire*, for example, we have Charles Kinbote's Foreword[7] which precedes John Shade's poem "Pale Fire".

Just as the novel is self-reflexive because it foregrounds the issue of beginnings, it is self-reflexive by virtue of its foregrounding the issue of endings, too. The problem of ending in fiction is reflected through the Postscripts which can be treated as the novel's multiple endings, more daring even then the endings of *The French Lieutenant's Woman*. The Postscripts in *The Black Prince* are not just suggestive of how many ways the book can be ended; they are also indicative of the fact that the same text can be rewritten in a number of ways, depending on which character were to narrate the episodes. The postscripts thus bring forth the importance of point of view in fiction. Everything depends on the point of view. The Postscripts make the novel a palimpsest : We have a foregrounded central text, but underneath it are a multiplicity of narratives, others' narratives, hidden but not quite, hidden but retrievable, inferrable. The Postscripts are a means of suggesting that the text is not an absolute one, not logocentric but decentred. Bradley Pearson is the narrator in the main story and so the reader's perception is restricted to his point of view, but only if any of the Postscript writers were given the central point of view, the narrative would have 'meant' something different. We study the book through one central and five peripheral, Postscript points of view; and the book invites the reader to reconstruct the book through a seventh point of view, his own. Every point of view is relativistic, and the reader's is just as valid as Bradley Pearson's or any other character's.

The Black Prince also postulates an ideal or implied reader. P. Loxias is the target audience for Bradley Pearson. This sympathetic editor of Pearson's "The Black Prince : A Celebration of Love" becomes self-reflexive and points

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to the fact that every writer has some, no matter how hypothetical, audience in mind while composing a work. That Bradley Pearson's "*The Black Prince*" indicates his fantasy because the Black Prince has the same initials as his own name is a fact which gets duplicated in the fact that P. Loxias is a fellow criminal undergoing punishment for a crime not very different from his own. The book thus tells us something about the urge underlying the writer's postulating a sympathetic reader.

In *The Black Prince* self-reflexivity also operates through inter textuality. Inter textuality works here at the level of allusions to other texts and through parody. An intertextual text is a text which sends the reader to other texts before lending its meaning to his understanding. At the level of allusions and quotations, *The Black Prince* refers to *Hamlet* and a German opera called *Rosenkavalier*. The interpretation of Hamlet which Bradley Pearson offers to Julian helps the reader understand his "The Black Prince". Julian-Pearson relationship is illumined in its irony and poignancy with the help of references to the Hamlet-Ophelia relationship. Bradley Pearson, while discussing what Shakespeare did in *Hamlet*, self-reflexively tells what Murdoch is trying to do in *The Black Prince* : "He has performed a supreme creative feat, a work endlessly reflecting upon itself, not discursively, but in its very substance, a chinese box of words as high as the tower of Babel . . . " (p. 194). He further goes on to explain that Shakespeare "is speaking as few artists can speak, in the first person and yet at the pinnacle of artifice" (p. 199). The statement is self-reflexive as it reflects Murdoch's aspirations, as also her narrative techniques which are dramatic and impersonal and yet reveal Murdoch's own preoccupations. Another text introduced in the novel is *Rosenkavalien*. What happens in this opera is similar to what happens in *The Black Prince* as far as the Julian-Pearson relationship is concerned. Inter textuality in the novel extends to past literary structures. The novel parodies romantic comedies, crime passionals, and 'whodunit's'. Motifs are drawn from these genres and then parodied through irony or inversion. The novel has also parodied the situations and language of Shakespearian romantic comedies, most notably *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. A.S. Byatt observes : *The Black Prince* . . . plays games with *A Midsummer Night's Dream, Much Ado*, Hamlet . . . [Its] formality has liberated an imaginative space for the reader and characters to inhabit; [Its] artifice has created a new-old language for realism".[8] Inter textuality thus points to the fact that any new work proceeds by reconstructing motifs from past works. It is an artifice, a product of bricolage.

Self-reflexivity also operates covertly in *The Black Prince*. The characters here are depicted as plotters and the only pattern that emerges in the book relates to the sudden subversion or collapse of their fantasy-plots. Each character constructs a fantasy plot but it collapses even as it seems to succeed. In this way, the characters' plots become a self-reflexive metaphor for the

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novelists constant subversion of the expectations the text generates in the reader. The moral is that it is wrong to be enamoured of forms as it is to wishfully construct them.

It is of course possible to read *The Black Prince* referentially by ignoring the heavy use it makes of self-consciousness and self-reflexivity.[9] However, such a reading is bound to be very partial and simplistic. In fact, *The Black Prince* is essentially about its own self in particular and about art in general. It is a work of art which speaks for itself and in speaking for itself it gradually speaks for all art.

NOTES

1. Iris Murdoch, *The Black Prince* (1973; rpt. Harmondsworth Penguin, 1985). All subsequent references are to this addition and enclosed within parentheses.
2. Steven G. Kellman, *The Self-Begetting Novel* (London : Macmillan, 1980).
3. A. S. Byatt, "People in Paper Houses : Attitudes to 'Realism' and 'Experiment' in English Postwar Fiction," in Malcolm Bradbury and David Palmer, eds., *The Contemporary English Novel* (1979) rpt. New Delhi : Edwsin Arnold, 1980), p. 35.
4. See Murdoch's seminal essay "Against Dryness" (1961); rpt. in Malcolm Bradbury, ed., *The Novel Today*; (London : Fontana, 1977), pp. 22-31.
5. The term is Ronald Barthes'. Se Ann Jeferson's discussion of Barthes in "Structuralism and Post-structuralism" in Ann Jefferson and David Robey, eds., *Modern Literary Theory: A Comparative Introduction* (Totowa, N.J. : Barnes & Noble, 1982), pp. 89 ff.
6. Linda Hutcheon has discussed in brief the Chinese box principle in *The Black Prince*. *Narcissistic Narrative : The Metafictional Paradox* (Waterloo, Ontario : Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 101-102.
7. Vladimir Nabokov, Pale Fire (1962) rpt. Penguin Books, 1981.
8. A.S. Byatt, p. 26.
9. Cf. Ye. Geriera, "The Recent Novels of Iris Murdoch," in *Twentieth Century English Literature : A Soviet View* (Moscow : Progress Publishers, 1982), pp. 260-262.

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FABULATION AS A LITERARY MODE IN THE FICTION OF ISHMAEL REED

Shubsheel Desraj

During the sixties the Second Harlem Rennaisance ultimately evolved into the Black Aesthetic Tradition while the militant writings forked off as the Black Aesthetic Movement. The two literary movements ran parallel to each other though they were diametrically and dogmatically opposed in ideology. The section of writers owing allegiance to the Black Aesthetic Tradition felt it was high time to merge themselves with the mainstream literature and endeavour towards a universalization of themes. Their emphasis was on a realistic portrayal of life – life as an experience which dealt with the complexities of human condition. the racial overtones, so dominant in the past, began to recede and problems associated with colour were canned though black consciousness and black colour pervaded the literary creations. The black skin no longer carried a stigma but signified a special intensity of emotion. A sense of poetic freedom revolutionised black literature.

The Black Aesthetic Tradition ushered in stirring new scenes on the literary stage – an extravaganza of new forms and high spirits divaricated in new directions, for example, the neo-gothic, surrealistic and noveau Roman etc. Black American literature refused to be confined by older literary traditions. The writers who identified themselves with this literary banner adopted "fabulation" as their mode to communicate reality. The important thing for a novelist as a "fabulator" was not the plot but the idea and abstraction of life. The domains of reality and fantasy overlapped to such an extent that the demarcations between the two were blurred. Cosmic satire, blues, vaudeville, mythopoesis, myth, VooDoo, HooDoo, Neo-HooDoo etc. became the thematic frameworks around which plots were fabricated. The customary literary limitations of time, space, situation, human laws, cause-effect relationship were relegated to oblivion, for they hindered the expressing of complex situations of life. The writer gave free rein to his imagination and juxtaposed historical parallels in a bid to create new compositions. The stream of thought flowed on to depict reality through abstractions collaged into vivid vignettes with no traditional beginning, middle or end – so vociferously propounded by Aristotle in his *Poetics*. The writers felt fantasy was an appropriate mode for expressing reality; so winging on flights of fancy, they visualised a fictional world. With the help of "fabulation" they delineated etchings to create large designs of reality. Their imaginative plain at times was inhabited by fictional

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characters who were not always people; birds and beasts stated spontaneously and exuberantly the profundities of life without the constraints of prejudice or scruples. They spoke English or a dialect of English with slang and colloquialism peppering, in ample measure, their utterances. Plots and themes were no longer confined to Negro enclaves for their setting but were related to the whole of humanity.

Technically, this stream of literary thought was completely alienated from the age old epic plot – the favourite mode of the protest writer. Hence, the writings were an absolute departure from the Protest Tradition, but the black man continued to retain his "identity" and "blackness" in the cultural setting. Hence, fabulistic writing was devoid of protest and not popular with the protest writer who wanted to spit bile and propagate propaganda in all his pronouncements. In this form of writing the immediate problems of humanity were disregarded and the writer tried to depict reality in comprehensible abstractions. The idea was to construct a collage of life without prejudice – white or black.

Black writings following that stream of consciousness became eclectic and universal in their approach and aimed at becoming part of the American literary main stream. Their themes were no longer whinings against colour, white community's selfishness or exhortations to the Afro-Americans to strike back hard at the white community. Their characters were picked from the whole of humanity, speaking English or various dialects of English with a distinctive class touch, slang or colloquialism. They were drawn from the eastern and western cultural settings. The language they spoke was the real American language and the writers felt it would be ideal for American prose and poetry. The ghetto was no longer the source of this inspiration but "man" who was symbolic of humanity. History, society and fantasy were forged together in their literary creations. Another peculiar literary device they often made use of was that occasionally in the course of the narration the writer stepped in to give an interpretation of some intricate or ambiguous expression.

However, in the tradition of fantasy, too, there were overtones that were distinctively black. The black man had not merged in the literary mainstream at the cost of his identity or his blackness; he retained both.

Ishmael Reed was undoubtedly one of the most brilliant, outrageously illogical and ludicrously unorthodox writers of the sixties and seventies. Juxtaposing synaptically reality and fantasy in abstract form, mixing fact with fiction, he projected hilarious anachronisms from life and of life, making use of folklore, mythology, caricature, folk roots, street language and racial idioms. From his forays into the psychic world he wrote prolifically and diversely of visions that blended and overlapped. Christanity, Voodoo, poli-

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tics, religion, mythology of ancient Egypt, black culture, black women writers, art of vodoun were all taken in ambit and reflected a dazzling array of multiculturalism. Adapting African spirit and religion to American ways he ridiculed the threadbare, through overuse cliches and traditional forms that like empty vessels made much noise.

Ishmael Reed has a distinct vision, a conspicuous style, a discerning eye, a quick recording ear, a vitriolic tongue. Working in a number of mediums he adamantly refused to be categorised according to a particular school of thought. Imaginatively, he creates a world skillfully designed to allow a free play to his idiosyncrasies and peccadilloes. His captivating humour parodies with impudence the soap opera, news-paper headlines, obscure issues, political controversies, reveals creative possibilities of magic, Satan, witchcraft and knowledgeably informs us that our struggle in life is for the sanity of a befuddled mind and clarity of a blurred vision. All the time, while our mind is trying to unravel the mysteries of his thought-stream, he is transporting us to higher degrees and higher planes of existence.

In an introduction to a collections of essays *Shrovetide in New Orleans* Ishmael Reed says,

> Many people have called my fiction muddled, crazy, incoherent, because I have attempted in fiction the techniques and forms, painters, dancers, film makers, musicians in west have taken for granted for at least fifty years, and the artist of many other cultures, for thousands of years.[1]

With uncommon talent, he explores the mythic labyrinthines of various cultures. From different perspectives, he interprets their messages veiled in secrecy. He has a radically personal style in language that is flexible enough to range from the street slang to the zenith of estheticism to translate his powerful visions of a world hidden from the eye of the westerner. Reed combines the qualities of the Afro-American dialect, slang, western jargon and colloquialism – a pure comic effect is produced when he transgresses beyond the traditional forms and spells words as they are phonetically spoken, e.g. "nekkid" for "naked" and "furriner" for "foreigner". With a free swinging enthusiasms, he peppers his works with a lively pot-pourri of puns, neologisms, racial cant, unusual linguistic motifs, paradoxes, metaphors and similes. He speaks mostly in figures of speech.

Reed's writings are not racial. The abject misery of the Negro does not interest him. He avoids siding with the Negro and shuns the bitter frustration and hopelessness of his existence – the maudlin theme songs of the modern black writers. The black people and the white people have a common history and a common culture; he appeals to them to step out of their narrow confines of prejudice and warped hostility. If whites become victims of his scatological

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wit, the blacks fare no better. " Well as far as my work is concerned I've been told by Blacks that they don't get off too well in my book either".[2]

Reed refuses to focus his spotlight on the sorry plight of the slave and his oppression. The black man does not arouse pity or sympathy in him. He is influenced by the slave narrative to the extent that he consciously avoids the form of this tradition, made so popular by Harriet Beecher Stowe. He wants his fiction to be functional and not bitter recriminations strung together. He wants to be a novelist and not a spokesman. The slaves in his books are cunning, living by their wits and outwitting both whites and blacks. He destroys the myth of Uncle Tom and re-examines slavery from a new perspective. The old stereotypes of Negroes, caricatured by writers, are destroyed by him. All his novels do define specific black identity but they are not celebrations of blackness. His Neo-HooDoo myth may be mistaken as a plea for defining black identity. He was at loggerheads with the Black Aesthetic Movement. He makes conscious efforts to prevent his art from degenerating into protest. He also liberates the novel from the traditional strait-jacket rules and directs his battery of verbal darts at black women writers, black revolutionaries and offensive posturing of rhetorics, Waging prolonged, tireless campaigns against convention and orthodoxy within the world of black arts and radical politics. He opposes the racism and communalism of black nationalists.

In spite of his outrageous verbal attacks and hilarious anachronisms, Ishmael Reed is a committed artist. In the garb of satire and humour he states his moral view-point in no uncertain terms. With the help of absurd allusions and far-reaching imagery, he fascinates us with pyrotechnical medley of far-fetched similes and metaphors, caustic commentary on social issues, folk-lore, black history, black folk-tales. He erases boundaries between mythology, biblical references and secular history.

Approaching literature from a metafictive angle, off tangent from the traditional neo-slave narrative, Reed writes in a complex, learned and witty style *(Mumbo Jumbo* has a bibliography of five pages) and with intense awareness. Using various literary devices, he rembles in the realms of fancy, fantasy, nationalism, international conspiracies, autobiogaphy, films, mysticism, folk-lore, history, dreams, comedy, science fiction, music, rock, "Blues," occult and vodoun and a host of other subjects. Armed with knowledge from Jung, he has developed his mental faculty to make visible the reality hidden from the undiscerning :

> The poet now and then catches sight of the figures that people the night world – spirits, demons and gods, he feels the secret quickening of human fate by superthuman design and has a presentiment of incom-

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prehensible happenings in the pleroma. In short he catches a glimpse of the psychic world.[3]

With his eclectic approach, he attempts to explore the mythic past of the black man and restore to him his mystic vision. In his novels, he breaks the tradition of pseudeo-autobiographical style used by Richard Wright, James Baldwin and Ralph Ellison.

No matter what mode Ishmael Reed adopts to convey his thoughts, his writings construct a world that is hilariously ludicrous and ridiculous. Revelling in the tradition of the grotesque and the burlesque – his mode is satire – he shreds the follies of the black and the white communities; his aim is to emphasise that the pot should not call the kettle black. With an indigenous humour coming to him spontaneously, he creates original, exciting and comic images. With an uncanny knack, he builds collages of suggestive, minute details, super-imposing them with images. With bubbling enthusiasm and sportive prose, he works in multi-cultural, multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary mediums. Unfolding his wares of satirical and symbolic references, he caricatures and satirises the idiosyncrasies of society, the government and the Church. In *Mumbo Jumbo* the target is the government and society. In *Yellow Back Radio Broke Down* it is the traditional Church.

His literature is imbued with parody and derision and takes every opportunity to make a humorous dig at the tradition of black fiction and its heroes who are always in search of something. Burlesque and parody are modes to free literary style and form from the ennui of an effete tradition and give it a new direction, different from the Anglo-American forms which are inadequate and inappropriate for spelling out black experience. Some of his literary devices defy interpretation unless the reader is tuned to his Wavelength.

> A cloud moved above, sagging with rain. It seemed as if it had eyes, nose, lips, it did. My eyes, nose and lips, Get it ? Clouds, Head in Clouds.[4]

Ishmael Reed wishes to explore life through the mode of mythopoesis, too. Mythopoesis is derived form the Greek word "to make" "to create", so a significant characteristic of mythopoesis is that it transforms and trancreates, forging and forking into speculative directions, hitherto unthought of by the literary mind. Reed is steeped in myth and multi-cultural forms which he puts in a crucible together with varying proportions of religion, philosophy, art, psychology or current events, waves his magic wand and creates new versions of fantasy in thought.

Mythopoesis is a blending of historical perspective and myth – tracing the apparent relation between the two. The whole spectrum of history – primeval, past and present – go past our vision like a pageant of inter-woven motifs taken from classical myths of King Arthur, Antigone, Osiris – Isis etc.

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He does not ignore the western myths, though he delves deep into the voodoo or the neo-HooDoo aesthetic based on black magic. Neither is he interested in pure myths, whether they are black or white in hue. Myths are stories as if they actually took place. Mythopoesis attempts to give a symbolic meaning to these myths. It can be visualised as an agent which can correct social wrongs and give direction to moral values through the innate philosophy of life which is its core.

By combining a series of myths with related historical events, Reed conjures up a bewildering array of themes that are innovative, bewitching and reflect his artistic expertise with words and themes. In every novel of Reed, a myth or legend causes confrontation between the mystic thought and historic perspective. The plurality of cultural events bring him closer to history of the present and make him a visionary moralist. As there is inter-relation and inter-action between history and myth in mythopoesis, *Mumbo-Jumbo* can be read as a myth as well as cosmic satire. The mythopoesic heroes evolve an identity and personality through various stages of dangerous adventures they undertake. There is no final resolutions of the adventurous journey. The end is not always happy, though there is a silver lining which spells hope. As the adventure ends there is a sense of freedom, goodness, peace and prosperity prevailing in the society, for example, in the *Yellow Back Radio Broke-Down* Loop Garo Kid's journey into the unknown and unexplored lands beyond the seas speculates that the city of Cibola, the dream world, will be restored to its pristine glory. Another kind of hero in mythopoesis literature can be a serious threat to society. Consequently, society devises ways and means to ostracise him.

Reed is certain that the Dionysian Spirit is not imbued with racial hues so the world will not be torn apart by prejudice, mistrust and misunderstanding if this Spirit is accepted. It attempts to transcend the social boundaries to reach realism and builds on the ultimate vision in which society, history and myth blend together.

Reed draws upon special and specific historical incidents and events conerning the blacks. There is enough evidence in his work that he cares for the blacks. He writes of a distinctive black experience against a backdrop of mythic experience that began in Africa and was transported to America when the Africans were brought in chains to the American shores. His novels feature blacks and he attempts to give a positive definition to blackness in terms of Neo-HooDoo myth though his novels cannot be termed as social propaganda or social protest.

In Reed's novels, too, the heroes undertake dangerous journeys, overcome formidable obstacles but there is no clear-cut victory. The hero's quest is a stirring within the society – there is hope and optimism. Besides, there

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is satire which is gentle, sympathetic and compassionate – this is called cosmic satire in the mythopoeic system.

Another mode within the framework of fantasy, popular with Reed, is the Neo-HooDoo which is the American version of African Voodoo, a sort of spontaneous creative energy that strives for the liberation of the spirit. Neo-HooDoo gives a new direction to Afro-american literature – radical diversion from the writings of the white contemporaries. Very categorically, Reed professed a departure from the Anglo literary creeds

Neo-HooDoo is not a school of thought but is rather a posture of the mind, a complexity of impressions that are idiomatic in origin and which infuses a continuous and constant influence which binds people in it. The Black Aesthetic movement in 1969 came in the literary garb of neo-literary HooDooism and compounded such diverse rudimentary aspects of the African heritage as dance, drama, religion, magic, sculpture and a wide variation of neo-African art. Myths were invented and primeval legends were invoked. A new consciousness gripped the black mind. Voodoo is similar to HooDooism and has its roots in African Vodoun. It is a literary device to mirror the world of reality hidden from western eyes and to reflect the Afro-American experience.

The spirit of HooDoo is the secret of the blackman's survival in America despite the formidable odds that he has had to face. Reed gives it a distinctively Afro-American colouring in all its aspects and propagates it in all his works.

> One finds the original tall tales and yarns with the kind of originality that some modern writers use .... Neo-HooDooism is a spur to originality. In ancient Egypt writing was considered a royal profession and the writer, a necromancer, a soothsayer, a priest, a prophet, who opened doors to the divine.[5]

Besides other sources, Reed derives his ideas from the Egyptian mythology and his deep understanding of Jung and Freud's psychological theories. He used the Neo-DooDoo metaphysical system as a motif to give colour to his aesthetic writings. Tracing history from an unusual perspective, he links it to myth through an eclectic approach – this makes it meaningful to contemporary society. He uses the prefiguration techniques to discover the truth of human nature – he creates unique patterns in the literary texture by manipulating character and plot, capturing different facets from different angles.

The Neo-HooDoo aesthetic is supple and malleable and allows enough freedom to mould the subject matter. Reed supplies the technique of "Condensation", a pattern in which a number of figures relate to one event or a

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single character and "Fragmentation" . . . a situation where a single prefiguration is refracted across a number of modern figures.

In the Neo-HooDoo manifesto, which first appeared in *Los Angeles Free Press* (Sept. 18-24, 1970) Reed devised a myth that defined history as a war between two communities i.e. repressiveness of the Christian west and the Osiris rites. In 1971 Reed published his version of the Neo-HooDoo Manifesto in *Confrontation,* a journal of the third world. He opined that Neo-HooDooism is a resurrection of a spiritual mythic attribute suppressed into a distortion by centuries of slavery of the African. It represents a new dimension of the Afro-American literature, modifying themes and forms and liberating itself from the decadent presumptions and assumptions of the Anglo-American literature which the black writers of the past had adopted. There is a distinct "Blackness" in the literature of Neo-HooDoo.

Necromancers in Neo-HooDoo are prophets empowered with seeing things from a non-western angle.

> People go into the past and get some metaphor from the past to explain the present or the future. I call this necromancy because that's what it is . . . . Necromancers used to lie in the guts of the dead or in the tombs to receive visions of the future – That's what I wanted to do.[6]

In the introduction to *19 Necromancers from Now,* Reeds elaborates,

> The Afro-American artist is similar to the Necromancer (a word whose etymology is revealing in itself). He is a conjurer who works juju upon his oppressor, a witch doctor who frees his fellow victims from the psychic attack launched by demons of the outer and inner world.[7]

The "Griot" too makes his presence felt in Reed's novels. The "Griot" is the traditional African oral story-teller who is the repository of the people's accumulated wisdom of the ages. He is a conjurer, too, of the black folk-culture. He has visions of reality. The stories were entertaining as well as lessons of facts of life. "Loop" is the invulnerable energy sheltered by ritual and innumerable veils of nature from the prying eyes of the non-believers. "Legba" once loomed as the procreative and primeval energy of all things and his coming westward and surviving in the New World bears testimony to the fact that the black man, in spite of his suffering, could not be stripped of his African heritage. "Loa" has the attributes and characteristics of the saints.

Convinced of the potency of HooDooism, Reed incorporates this symbology, taken from the African root, into his metafictive literary creations to reveal the eclectic nature of HooDooism. He ranges through folk-lore and myth and views his writings as "wangas" or "conjures" which provide corrective definitions of reality and are potent enough to bring real positive changes in

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this topsy-turvy world of ours. *Yellow Back Radio Broke-Down* is a Neo-HooDoo western and *Mumbo Jumbo,* a Neo-HooDoo detective novel.

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MONEY AND MORALS IN HEMINGWAY'S SHORT STORIES

S.S. Sangwan
&
Satyapal Dahiya

Hemingway never wrote cheep sensational fiction to catch the imagination of the reading public. He was not motivated by any secret desire to flush out his personal experience into his creative works. He was, in fact, a very serious writer with clear moral purposes. His short stories as well as his longer fictional works reveal his firm commitment to the values of sympathy, compassion, solidarity and purity of will and intension in relation with one's fellow human beings.

Hemingway feels deeply disturbed at the sight of modern man's life dogged by family disintegration, physical, emotional and spiritual sterility, and the collapse of moral human values caused by a mad and mindless race for materialism. The writer's clear and candid view of the situation, his grasp over its complexities, his penetrative insight into its causes as well as visualisation of its consequences become evident when an examination is made of the evil of crass materialism in his shorter fiction.

A good deal of critical attention has been given to some of Hemingway's short stories such as "The Killers", "The Snows of Kilimanjaro", "A Clean, Well-lighted place" and "The Light of the World". But in order to have a full and balanced assessment of Hemingway's treatment of materialism, it is necessary to focus attention on some of his ignored or less talked about short stories. We, will, therefore, concentrate mainly on those short stories which have remained in critical oblivion and as a result of which the range and sincerity of Hemingway as a social and moral critic of our times have not been fully explored and recognized.

Hemingway exposes and assails the evil of materialism in story after story. "The Mother of a Queen" is a satire directed against the philistine behaviour of Paco, who has been treated in a lightly ironic vein. Paco is devoid of the sentiments of filial piety and cannot pay twenty dollars to secure a perpetual burial place for his dead mother, although he can spend huge amounts on dresses. He pretends to be highly conscious of duty towards his mother and even tells his manager that he would pay the necessary amount to secure the plot permanently, but there is not a shade of surprise or shock on his face

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when he learns that his mother's bones have been thrown on a public bone-heap. It is his love for self and money that has strangled his love for his mother. He is so hypocritical that he tries to justify his act, and demonstrates his false and pretended attachment to his mother in the most outrageously brazen-faced manner when he says : "Now she is so much dearer to me. Now I don't have to think of her buried in one place and be sad. Now she is all about me in the air, like the birds and the flowers. Now she will always be with me".[1] One really wonders with the manager what kind of blood it is that runs through the veins of this type of man.

Materialism has banished from the life of modern man the age-honoured values of honesty and gratitude. Paco shows complete lack of scruples or of gratefulness to the manager. He owes him six hundred pasos but pays none despite repeated promises. He is so thick-skinned that he offers only twenty pasos to the manager when he actually needs money; but readily pays fifty pasos to a punk from his home town to pass for a big, generous matador.

Hemingway rails at the self centredness, shallowness and vanity of such philistines. He is highly ironical when he tells us how Paco was busy in "Spending all kinds of money around women trying to make himself seem a man and fool people."[2] It clearly evidences Hemingway's strong aversion to philistinism, and his faith in principles of humanism which manifest themselves in breadth of sympathy, genuine fellow-feeling, a proper sense of personal dignity and above all, a purity of personal human relations.

Materialism has invaded even the bull-ring and has undermined its aesthetic and moral standards. "The Undefeated" is a story of the undefeatable will of a bull-fighter which is severely tried and tested in the face of unscrupulous and callous business ethics of today. Manual has to fight during the night-show a bull which "veterinaries would not pass in the day-time."[3] They would provide a sub-standard bull because it was cheaper. The standard and scruples of the game are, thus, sacrificed for the sake of money. That bull-fighting has become commercialized and has been corrupted by the profit motive is further revealed by Retana's exploitation of Manual Garcia, who is hard-pressed for work and money. There is no scope for human sympathy in the heartless and mechanical business world of Retana, the manager. He offers just two hundred and fifty pestas knowing fully well that Garcia was not in a position to bargain. "He had thought of five hundred but when he opened his mouth it said two hundred and fifty."[4]

Retana's ruthless exploitation of the bull-fighter and his utter lack of concern for the quality and standard of bull-fighting is revealed clearly by the farmer's blunt refusal to give Garcia a good picador for the bullfighting. Garcia will have to do with one of the regular boys, who by Retana's own admission, "are not much"[5] If Garcia wants one of the good pics, he can get

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one by paying from his own pocket, and that too when the poor bullfighter will get only sixty duros. This is one of the examples of how the bull-ring has been deprived of all its grandeur in modern materialistic times. All human, aesthetic and moral standards and qualities have been exiled from the bull ring by money maniacs who have turned it into a money-minting ground.

The benumbing of human sympathies due to obsessive greed for money and gold is treated sarcastically by Hemingway in "After the Storm." The narrator in the story acts like a shark to satisfy his hunger for the fabulous wealth carried by the ill-fated liner. He does not have the slightest pity for the dead and decomposing bodies in it. He is incapable of human solidarity and fellow felling even at the gruesome sight of ruin. It is an example of modern man's dehumanisation in a materialistic society. "Money mania" has frozen human hearts and modern man, therefore, has become alienated from vital human values of love, sympathy and compassion which can impart meaning and strength to his existence on earth.

To break the law for the sake of money is another example of how materialism has undermined the very foundation of personal and social human relationships. Peduzzi in "Out of Season" misguides the youngman and his wife and takes them trout-fishing on a rainy day to the brown and muddy river though it is against the law of the country. When he guides the young couple to the river through the street, people stare at them with contempt. But the censorious looks of people make no impact on Peduzzi. It is because for him money and drinks are more important than any respect for social approbation. Peduzzi's conduct brings out fully how materialism has destroyed the age-old values of human dignity and professional integrity. The young couple place their trust in him when they take him as their guide and follow him to the river. They are strangers in that country and ignorant about its laws. Peduzzi commits an act of betrayal of faith by misleading them to fish on a rainy day and thus exposes them to the possibility of legal action and punishment. Peduzzi has debased himself so much for money that he even begs the youngman for five lire for favour without doing anything for him and his wife. The scornful way in which the young gentleman gives Peduzzi a few lire notes just to get rid of him shows the extent to which materialism has desensitized and dehumanized a modern man like a Peduzzi.

Hemingway, as a critic of modern society, could not ignore the damaging effect of materialism on man-woman relations. He dramatises fully how marriages fall apart when they are not the result of genuine love. Mrs. Macomber marries Mr. Macomber because he was too rich to resist. Money alone cannot unite their hearts and souls. Mr. and Mrs. Eliot, too, fail to achieve harmony and fulfilment in marriage because Mrs. Elliot ran a tea-stall before she got a husband for herself at the age of forty. Her real and fertile

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youth had been dissipated in material pursuit which rendered her incapable of consummating her womanhood.

"A Very Short Story" presents two lovers whose prospects of entering a lasting marital relationship are wrecked by their obsession with job and career. Luz loved Nick in hospital and even shared his bed at night. After his recovery she wrote letters protesting "how much she loved him how it was impossible to get along without him and how terrible it was missing him at night".[6] In the moments of heated passion, they thought of marrying, but when it came to taking an actual decision,"they agreed he should go home and get a job so they might be married".[7] Luz would not come home with him until he had a good "job".[8] She goes to Pardenoue to open a hospital where she meets a major of arditi battalion. Luz's obsession with security leads her astray to fall in the hands of the major of arditi battalion. But to cap it all, the major ditches her and never marries her. Careerism and security have substituted the real feelings of genuine faith and love. Nick contracts gonorrhoea and Luz is left all high and dry. Hemingway is bitterly ironical when he says that she believed that he would have one day "a great career".[9] It indicates that a good job and a good career occupy the highest importance in her scale of values. Men and women today, it is suggested, have sacrificed human values of sincerity and constancy in love for the sake of material success.

Flesh-trading is one of the ugliest forms in which materialism manifests itself. Hemingway exposes sexual perversions of prostitution in a number of his short stories. In "Che Ti Dice La Patria ?", he attacks the bartering away of the sanctity of the human body for the sake of a few lire. He is speaking with his tongue in cheek when the narrator says that "Mussolini had abolished all the brothels".[10] At the very first restaurant they go to for a meal in Spezia, they are greeted and served by three whores. They try every indecent, obscene and ugly trick to trap the narrator and his friend.

Besides perversions in sex, materialism has undetermined the human values of faith and trust and respect for laws of society and country. When Guy goes to an old house to answer a call of nature, the people in the house are suspicious and the waiter remains with Guy to see nothing is stolen. It only proves that human values of honesty and mutual trust are alien to modern man in a materialistic society. The fascist cop fully represents the bane of materialism when he skilfully and boldly cheats, grabs, nay, robs fifty lire from the narrator and Guy under the pretext that the number of the car was dirty. He makes an entry of only twenty five lire in the record whereas he charges fifty lire from them. It seems that in modern times every social and human moral value has been sacrificed at the alter of money.

A study of Hemingway's short stories shows his critical attitude to modern materialism. He regards it as the chief cause of human suffering. His treat-

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ment of this evil of materialism is not, in any way, a result of his secret and morbid fascination for it. It is, in fact, a testimony of his faith in and commitment to moral human values.

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TECHNIQUES OF CHARACTERISATION IN '*TRAIN TO PAKISTAN*' AND '*I SHALL NOT HEAR THE NIGHTINGALE*'

Charanjit Kaur

Train to Pakistan and *I Shall Not Hear the Nightingale* are both essentially traditional novels, largely untouched by twentieth century innovations in the art of fiction writing. The methods of characterisation used by the author are also traditional and based on "a sequential development in time".[1] There is also a touch of realism mingled with idealism which takes the two novels into the borderland between the romance and the novel. In the words of Northrop Frye :

> The characters of the romance are heroic and therefore inscrutable; the novelist is freer to enter his character's minds, because he is more objective.[2]

By this criterion, the two central characters of the two novels, Jugga and Sabhrai, belong to the realms of Romance. But they do not remain merely typically Romance characters, because of the judicious combination of several other techniques which Khushwant Singh has used to emphasise the 'reality' of the characters.

The point of view used in the novels is of the most elementary kind – one in which the author knows everything about each of the characters, and tells it to the reader when he deems it fit. It is a "God's eye view",[3] and therefore whatever the characters emerge as, is steadily predictable. Jugga's sacrifice, Sabhrai's death, Iqbal's inaction, or Buta Singh's self-satisfaction at the end of the two novels do not come as a surprise to us, because the author has already made us familiar with the behaviour and thought patterns of each of them. Most of the characterisation is through direct comments made by the author : comments about which there can be no dispute, because the author is an all-knowing entity. About Hukum Chand, we are told :

> The sight of so many dead had at first produced a cold numbness. Within a couple of hours, all his emotions were dead, and he watched corpses of men and women and children being dragged out, with as little interest as if they had been trunks or bedding. But by the evening, he began to feel forlorn and sorry for himself.[4]

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Sher Singh, we learn, is a weak person, who derives his authority from his father :

> He did not realise that strength was not a natural development of his personality but nurtured behind the protection provided by his father's position . . . .[5]

All these pronouncements have to be taken on faith by the reader, because the characters are not allowed to outgrow the author's fixed opinion about them. Their actions merely illustrate the framework of personality within which they have been set. This explains, to some extent, the two dimensionality of the characters, and, in the words of Walter Allen, it can be called "a rudimentary kind of characterisation"[6].

But authorial comment is given a new dimension in *Train to Pakistan* and *Nightingale* by the overall tone which is ironic. Tone, increasingly put to conscious use in twentieth century fiction, is one of the subtlest devices of presenting character : "Tone . . . . is the verbal equivalent, the verbal embodiment, of the novelist's point of view or narrative stance."[7] The ironic tone is significant in the novel form, because, in the words of Maurice Z. Shroder, "[It] . . . . appears to allow his [the novelist's] characters to magnify themselves, but in effect, subtly and silently (reduces) them to their actual stature."[8] All the Wogs, (Westernised Oriental Gentlemen) - those characters who are interested in projecting an inflated image of themselves - illustrate this point. Iqbal becomes the chief object of the ironic view-point. The most sententious dialogue flows from his mouth, the most noble sentiments of nationalism and patriotism are mouthed by him, the most profound theoretical, philosophical arguments come from him; and through his actions he is revealed to be a coward and an escapist. Everyone, except Iqbal, realises the hollowness of his statements, which are presented in his loose rambling thoughts. Similarly, Sher Singh in *Nightingale*, cannot see through the continuous complaints of his wife; but the reader knows fully that all the complaints of Champak about Madan's advances towards her, and about Mundoo's voyeurism, actually reveal her own obsession with sex. Even Sabhrai is not spared this ironic treatment; her famed sixth sense is seen to fail her at some of the most critical moments of her life : she fails to guess the nature of the relationship between her daughter-in-law Champak and Madan; and "Sabhrai's sixth sense told her nothing about the drama that had taken place",[9] even though the "drama" involves the arrest of her beloved son Sher Singh for murder, and appears to be the ruination of Buta Singh's career. However, the irony implicit in the portrait of Sabhrai induces sympathy for her, whereas in the case of Iqbal, Buta Singh, Champak and Sher Singh it only makes one contempuous of them. In the case of Sabhrai, irony enchances her tragic stature; in the case of others, it points up their basic hypocrisy and mendacity.

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Another important aspect of characterisation in *Train to Pakistan* and *Nightingale* is that discussions about the social and political affairs help to place important characters within a proper context, emphasise their attitudes, and prepare the reader for the final role these characters will take on. These discussions are either in the form of conversations between persons, or, as just thoughts which go on in the minds of the individuals; both help to bring the reader into closer contact with the minds of the characters. About the conversations V.A. Shahane comments :

> The long conversations between Hukum Chand and the sub-inspector are tiresome and clearly betray a prosaic commonplace reportage, and bring out the journalistic aspect of Khushwant Singh's art.[10]

On the contrary, it is these discussions which establish the character of both Hukum Chand and the sub-inspector. They reveal Hukum Chand's clarity of vision, his determination of purpose, his grip on the situation and his tendency towards sarcasm. It is the discussions which shows that Hukum Chand possesses the leadership qualities mentioned by Khushwant Singh in *Tragedy of Punjab* :

> The first requisite of a good leader is the ability to foresee all events and not let events overtake him. The second is to be able to foresee the consequences of a course of action and only to resort to it if no other alternatives are available.[11]

He knows that the partition has started the waves of retribution for Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, and that, as a magistrate, it is his duty to prevent the killings. His practical shrewdness cuts across the sentimentality which the sub-inspector wallows in; even when he succumbs to sententious generalisations, it is only in his official capacity and not for long :

> Our Hindu women are like that : so pure that they would rather commit suicide than let a stranger touch them. We Hindus never raise our hands to strike women, but these Muslims have no respect for the weaker sex.[12]

The sharpness of his wit is revealed by his ability to understand and state what the meaning of a good police station is :

> But Chundunnaggar is a good police station. There are so many murders, so much illicit distilling, and the Sikh peasants are prosperous. Your predecessors have built themselves houses in the city.[13]

His practical wisdom and foresight about the Indian situation is clear when he says :

> Bad characters will get all the loot and the government will blame us for the killing.[14]

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It is in the course of this discussion that he reveals the code of conduct for policemen :

> Your principle should be to see everything and say nothing. The world changes so rapidly that if you want to get on you cannot afford to align yourself with any person or point of view. Even if you feel strongly about something, learn to keep silent. [15]

The sub-inspector is a willing pupil and the author's sarcastic comment about him is :

> He wanted to provoke more paternal advice by irresponsible criticism.[16]

This pusillanimous attitude is the fore-runner of the personality of Buta Singh in *Nightingale*. Through these discussions the reader is brought into contact with the mind of Hukum Chand, a mind which is later on going to correlate the murder of Ram Lal with the political situation as and when it suits him, which is going to use the ambiguity surrounding Iqbal's religion for political purposes, and which is going to provide a brainwave solution, based on a knowledge of human nature to the problem facing him : it is his farsightedness which leads to the release of Jugga and Iqbal, and eventually to the safe passage of the train to Pakistan.

Discussions are the forte of Iqbal too. But his arguments are neither as clear nor as concise as those of Hukum Chand. They are not even arguments proper; they are monologues, or rather thoughts as they flit in and out of his mind :

> When bullets fly about, what is the point of sticking out your head and getting shot ? The bullet is neutral. It hits the good and the bad, the important and the insignificant without distinction . . . . who would know that you were a Sikh, who with full knowledge of the consequences, had walked into the face of a firing squad to prove that it was important that good should triumph over evil ? And God - no, not God; He was irrelevant.[17]

These intellectual musings of Iqbal are more in the nature of substitutes for action, mere excuses for not doing something concrete. Iqbal's pretensions to being an intellectual are also exposed by the jumps in logic which his arguments contain :

> Our first problem is to get people more food, clothing, comfort. That can only be done by stopping exploitation by the rich, and abolishing landlords. And that can only be done by changing the government.[18]

How these things have to be done, Iqbal has no idea. He has jumped to the conclusion that all ills can be solved by just changing the government. Not

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only is the reader unable to appreciate Iqbal's meaningless verbiage, Iqbal himself does not seem to be very sure of what exactly he wants to say.

Discussion concerning the political situation in the country in 1942 also takes place in the Buta Singh household. It also provides the main reason for the sense of alienation which the father and the son feel with respect to each other. Sher Singh tries to remain polite and non-committal while talking to his father, though even the smallest piece of conversation between them betrays Sher Singh's bubbly hot headedness and Buta Singh's two-pronged attitude :

> What do you think will happen to the British ?. . . . 'I think we should be more concerned with what will happen to us', he (Sher) replied. 'We are far too concerned with other people. Our communist friends are only worried about what will happen to Russians; others think of what will happen to Britain. Very few of us are bothered with our own future.'[19]

Like most of Iqbal's speeches, this one by Sher Singh too is rich in irony, for whatever Sher Singh says about "others", applies most to him : very soon, Sher too will not be concerned with the future of his own country, but only with himself and his problems. The inadequacy of Sher Singh's mind can be guaged from the fact that he cannot explain the purpose of the independence he is fighting for to his mother, probably because he himself does not comprehend it properly. Buta Singh, on the other hand, at least understands what stand he has to take in the presence of which people, and he is categorical about what he says :

> 'We Indians have a lot to learn from them.' Sher Singh sensed that the remark was directed towards him. 'They too have something to learn from us', he said, taking up the challenge.[20]

During these dinner-table discussions, it is thus revealed that father and son are out to defy each other, and this argument actually stems from their personal prejudices and the desire of each to oppose the other, needlessly. It is Sabhrai who is called upon to settle their disputes amicably.

Sher Singh talks politics and about his own leadership image with Champak too. But the husband and wife are so full of themselves that they do not even try to hear each other. Communication between them is absolutely nil : Sher Singh begins to talk about his meetings and the speeches he has given, and Champak manages to veer the topic somehow to sexual matters :

> 'What a turnout at my meeting . . . . the S.V.C. has come to mean something . . . . There was absolutely pin drop silence . . . . 'Accha ! Wonderful !' she responded enthusiastically. 'You will become a minister in the government one day and we will have a flag on top of our house, we will have an official car and peons in uniforms. Then we can dismiss

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this useless Mundoo of yours. Really you've no idea what he is like ?' 'Oh, yes, I have', interrupted Sher Singh impatiently, 'he is just a poor, underpaid boy . . . .'[21]

And so conversation between them progresses, providing a comic interlude for the reader, and showing how preoccupied they are with themselves. Hence all their talk is at cross purposes.

Another aspect of the characterisation and one which has been pointed out by Shahane is the principle of comparison and contrast to enhance the characters and provide a greater insight into their minds.[22] This principle applies both to *Nightingale*, and *Train to Pakistan*. Iqbal is contrasted with Jugga and Meet Singh; Hukum Chand's perceptivity is in direct contrast to the amateurishness of the sub-inspector; on the other hand, he also provides an effective parallel to Jugga, for both of them suffer almost similar fates. Still further, there is a clear parallelism (not observed by Shahane) in the two novels taken together : Jugga and Sabhrai come together as spiritually evolved people who give their lives for a cause; Sher Singh is characterised by the indecisiveness of Iqbal; and Hukum Chand, Wazir Chand and Buta Singh present a study of the living styles of the magistrates in 1947 and in pre-independence India. Norrah as a beloved presents an ideal foil to Champak; the policemen in both the novels are characterised by the same behaviour patterns, which throw light on the callousness and brutality with which prisoners were then treated.

Khushwant Singh also reveals his intense involvement with the characters by depicting small, insignificant gestures, facial expressions, and nuances of behaviour. Particularly in the case of minor characters, like Meet Singh, who have to be established credibly in just a scene or two, this technique brings the character to life immediately, and also helps to pace him in his proper class and context. Thus :

The lambardar ignored Iqbal's well-mannered protests. He removed his dirty handkerchief from a large brass tumbler and began to stir the milk with his forefinger.[23]

and,

They (the constables who have come to arrest Iqbal) wrapped the loose ends of their turbans around the tumblers to protect their hands from the hot brass. To reassure themselves they sipped noisily.[24]

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Minute observation serves to underline traits of even the important characters :

> Sher Singh always had a good look at himself in the mirror before taking off his uniform. He examined his profile from both sides and then gave himself a steady stare to study the effect it would have on people.[25]

and Hukum Chand

> bent his forehead gently with his clenched fist. He tugged at his hair as if he could pull ideas out of his brain.[26]

Whether the purpose of these minute descriptions is to convey a satiric effect, or to depict the typicality of the lambardar, or to reveal the helplessness of Hukum Chand, they add to the power of the novel, because they evoke the visual aspect of the characterisation. The reader can actually "see" how the characters act.

Symbolism is present in both the novels in the development of character and situation. In *Nightingale*, the first section of Chapter I, which deals with the killing of the Sarus crane by Sher Singh and his companion : represents the whole novel in microcosm. The gecko motif symbolises Hukum Chand's fear and the fact that he is trapped in a situation that is too tight for him; and his blind terror of them points to, in the larger context, his helplessness in the face of events which finally overpower him. But it is in the case of Iqbal that symbolism is used as a technique of characterisation most suggestively and works most subtly. An analysis of the portraiture of Iqbal and the various symbols associated with him show that he is, by far, the most complex character in the two novels.

The hold all which Iqbal brings with him into Mano Majra consists of his air-mattress, silk dressing gown, pyjamas, a tin of sardines, a tin of Australian butter, a packet of dry biscuits, a water bottle, and white pills to purify his drinking water : all these objects explain why he comes to the conclusion that he does not belong; infact, they suggest that he does not want to belong. The humour of the situation is enhanced because Meet Singh is more fascinated by the eating habits of Iqbal, rather than by his lectures on Indian problems, by which his meals are regularly punctuated. It is almost as if Meet Singh regards him as a curiosity piece, which has to be observed, but not taken seriously.

The air-mattress is equated with Iqbal right at the outset. In the Gurudwara, the first thing he does is to blow it up on the charpoy; a hint has already been given that whatever Iqbal will say later on is nothing but insubstantial air which only inflates his ego and remains hollow. At the end of the novel, when Iqbal is released from jail by Hukum Chand on the slight hope that he may save the train from disaster, again the symbol of the air-mattress is at

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play, and this time with its complete power of suggestion and association. Iqbal begins to ask Meet Singh about the killings in the village, but the *Bhai* is more interested in watching him inflate the mattress; when he says "Is it nice sleeping on this ?", it is clear that all that Iqbal ever does is sleep on his ideas, when they become too big for him. Further, Iqbal, while still on the topic of the killings, plugs the end of the mattress, a symbol for a mind which has been closed to outside influences. When the *bhai* says "Your pillow is also full of air", the word "also" is very telling. And his final comment about the air-mattress : "Wouldn't this burst if a heavy person slept on it ? .... This would not do for a newly married couple", clearly points to the fact that the "brilliant", European ideas of Iqbal will not be able to stand the waves of violence and destruction around him, and that he will finally withdraw into himself.[27]

And this is exactly what happens : he drinks himself to sleep, while Jugga has performed the role of the hero, which Iqbal has been glorifying himself with in his imagination.

The language which the different characters speak also adds to the reader's understanding of them. On the whole, the language in the narrative parts of the novel is unembellished, and spiced with Indianisms taken from Punjabi and Urdu.[28] Language comes in particularly handy in distinguishing Englishmen, Indians and Wogs. The Taylords speak a natural English, with no trace of the "Punjabi English" of the author. The language of the Indian characters is also natural; it is also replete with literal translations, as when the sub-inspector keeps on calling Hukum Chand "Cherisher of the Poor", in *Train to Pakistan*, Jugga and Sabhrai speak a more rhythmic and vital language, one which comes directly from the roots :

> 'What seducer of his mother can throw bangles at me ?'[29]

> 'Bus, bus, it seems you can't digest your food without slandering people.'[30]

Sabhrai's speech also sparkles with quiet authority and wit. When Shunno suggests that they should find a boy for Beena, Sabhrai retorts : "You find one and then talk."[31] When she talks to her son, Sabhrai again reflects her native background :

> 'Tell me, son', she asked .... 'What will you get if the English leave this country ? .... What sweetmeats will we get ?'[32]

This kind of speech pattern characterises all the Wogs too, with the sole exception of Iqbal, who speaks chaste English. Perhaps the supreme irony here is that the only Indian who speaks correct English is the one who misuses language the most, and one who is thoroughly confused himself.

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Anglo-Indian characters – the sergeants in the British government service – speak an even more different kind of language :

'Mawhnin ? Wot you talking Babu ? Court martial if we don't get there tomorrer. Court martial you know ?'[33]

Meenakshi Mukherjee has rightly pointed out that this speech pattern, used for the minor characters, makes them typical and stereotyped, more like caricatures than real characters.[34] But then, this is no discredit to the author, because he is interested in portraying them, essentially, as types. When he wants to individualise characters and make them vital, their language becomes lyrical, as in the case of Sabhrai. On her deathbed she tells Sher Singh "I shall not hear the Nightingale, my son. May the Guru give you long life."[35]

The lyricism enhances her tragic stature and reveals the full significance of Sabhrai as a basically good person, having to pay the price for conflicting loyalties and for the double-dealings of more materialistic people. She grows in stature because of her suffering which is primarily for the sake of others.

However, though Khushwant Singh has used such varied techniques of characterisation, the over-all impression that one gets is that the characters remain flat. This is chiefly due to the fact that the author has not used these techniques consistently. Thus, symbolism is used most often in the case of Iqbal, but is completely absent from the portraiture of Shunno or Champak. The ironic tone is more all-pervading, but, at least in the characterisation of Jugga, irony does not come to the forefront, except in the fact that a dacoit becomes a saviour. The authorial supermacy, however, is maintained throughout and it is what adds to the success of the tone of irony. The reader always knows more about the situation and characters than they themselves do. The most obvious drawback, therefore, is that motives become too explicit, contradictions are shown a bit too obviously, and the reader is expected to fall in with the author's judgement about his characters. Still, all flaws nonwithstanding, *Train to Pakistan* and *Nightingale* remain significant novels, even after two decades, chiefly because of the power of suggestion in characterisation, which the tone of irony makes possible, and which results in such masterly portraits as those of Iqbal, Hukum Chand and Buta Singh.

NOTES

1. Vasant Shahane, ***Khushwant Singh*** (New York : Twayne Publishers, 1972), p. 121. Hereafter this book is referred to as ***Shahane.***
2. Northrop Frye, "The Four Forms of Fiction" in ***The Theory of the Novel,*** ed. Philip Stevick; (excerpted from ***Anatomy of Criticism,*** Princeton, 1957; London : Colleir-Macmillan, 1967), p. 37.
3. Walter Allen, "Narrative Distance, Tone and Character" in ***The Theory of the Novel,*** ed. John Halperin (New York : Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 323.

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4. Khushwant Singh, *Train to Pakistan* (London : Chatto and Windus, 1956). First published as *Mano Majra* by Grove Press, New York, in the same year. Reprinted by India Book House, Bombay, 1976 (Eighth printing). All references in the present study are from the IBH edition, p. 76.

5. Khushwant Singh, *I shall Not Hear The Nightingale* (London : John Calder, 1959). First Indian edition published in 1970. Reprinted by India Book House, Bombay, 1980. All references in the present study are from the IBH edition, 1980; hereafter cited as *Nightingale* p. 192.

6. Allen in Halperin, *The Theory of the Novel*, p. 328.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 327.

8. Maurice Z. Shroder, "The Novel as Genre" in Stevick, *The Theory of the Novel*, p. 24.

9. *Nightingale*, p. 187.

10. Shahane, p. 84.

11. Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh, *Tragedy of Punjab* (New Delhi : Vision Books, 1984), p. 114.

12 *Train to Pakistan* p. 19.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

19. *Nightingale*, pp. 22-23.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

22. *Shahane*, p. 90.

23. *Train to Pakistan*, p. 48.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

25. *Nightingale*, p. 70.

26. *Train to Pakistan*, p. 137.

27. All quotations in this paragraph refer to the incident narrated on pages 145-146 of *Train to Pakistan*.

28. Khushwant Singh, *The Sikhs* (Delhi : Lustre Press, 1984). Khushwant Singh comments on spoken Punjabi in the following manner : "The Nihangs have coined a vocabulary of their own, most of which traces back to their militant past and adversity in battle . . . . they do not 'beg' for alms, they impose a tax . . . . The poorest of food is given fancy names. Thus, onions are *ruppa* or 'silver', parched grams 'almonds', wild berries 'grapes' and chilli, 'the quarrelsome dame'." p. 44.

29. *Train to Pakistan*, p. 31.

30. *Nightingale*, p. 74.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

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32. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
34. Meenakshi Mukherjee, *The Twice Born Fiction* (New Delhi : Arnold Heinemann, 1971), pp. 188-190.
35. *Nightingale*, p. 233.

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THE COMMON YEARNING OF WOMANHOOD : THE IMAGES OF WOMEN IN THE NOVELS OF GEORGE ELIOT

Kiran Garg

By the time George Eliot began to write women had ceased to be legal nonentities. Two Acts of Parliament, one allowing them the custody of their children under the age of seven, and the other giving the wives the right to divorce their husbands under some special circumstances had already been passed. Though they were still far from being the equals of men in the eyes of law, still it was a step forward.

George Eliot did not associate herself with the political movement being carried on in her time to demand more rights for women as she felt that women were unfit for any political or social ideas. On the question of providing colleges for women she believed that such an education would weaken the family bonds. Nevertheless, inspite of the reservations in George Eliot's mind about the desirability of education in women, all her heroines crave for knowledge. Their aspirations are different from the ordinary women of her age. Virginia Woolf in her essay on George Eliot explores the nature of desire in her women :

> In learning they seek their goal; in the ordinary tasks of womanhood; in the wider service of their kind. They do not find what they seek, and we cannot wonder. The ancient consciousness of women, charged with suffering and sensibility, and for so many ages dumb, seems in then to have brimmed and over-flowed and uttered a demand for something — they scarcely know what — for something that is perhaps incompatible with the facts of human existence.[1]

Among all the fictional heroines of the Victorian period George Eliot's heroines have the greatest faith in the efficacy of knowledge to solve all their problems. In *The Mill on the Floss,* George Eliot has analysed the longings of a young girl which cannot be fulfilled in a narrow and oppressive society. Maggie knows of her extraordinary intelligence right from her childhood, but she is repeatedly told that intelligence in women is of no use. Her father regrets, " an over'cute woman's no better nor a long-tailed sheep : she'll fetch none the bigger price for that."[2] Mr. Stelling's verdict is no less gloomy, " They can pick up a little of everything, I dare say . . . . The've a great deal of

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superficial cleverness; but they couldn't go far into anything. They're quick and shallow."[3]

The mental sustenance that Maggie's own smattering of formal education gives her is not sufficient for her needs and she yearns for, "real learning and wisdom, such as great men knew."[4] But at the same time she feels guilty for her desire for knowledge, obviously the outcome of what she has been constantly told about knowledge being bad for women :

> She was as lonely in her trouble as if she had been the only girl in the civilized world of that day who had come out of her school – life with a soul untrained for inevitable struggles – with no other part of her inherited share in the hard-won treasures of thought, which generations of painful toil have laid up for the race of men, than shreds and patches of feeble literature and false history."[5]

Of all George Eliot's heroines, Dorothea has the greatest faith in books :

> It was not entirely out of devotion to her future husband that she wished to know Latin and Greek. Those provinces of masculine knowledge seemed to her a standing – ground from which all truth could be seen more truly . . . . Perhaps even Hebrew might be necessary . . . . in order to arrive at the core of things, and judge soundly on the social duties of the Christian and she had not reached that point of renunciation at which she would have been satisfied with having a wise husband, she wished, poor child, to be wise herself.[6]

In her novels, George Eliot gives a very chilling picture of the education provided for women by showing us its products. We are told that Rosamond Vincy "was admitted to be the flower of Mrs. Lemon's school, the chief school in the country, where the teaching included all that was demanded in the accomplished female – even to extras, such as the getting in and out of a carriage."[7] Similarly, Gwendolen's poor education has not prepared her to meet the vicissitudes of life. Daniel Deronda observes, "it seems to me that she has a dreary lack of ideas."[8] He tells her that "some real knowledge would give you an interest in the world beyond the small drama of personal desires."[9]

George Eliot expresses her disapproval of men's attitude towards women's intellectual power in the "Prelude" to *Middlemarch* :

> Some have felt that these blundering lives are due to the inconvenient indefiniteness with which the Supreme Power has fashioned the natures of women; if there were one level of feminine incompetence as strict as the ability to count three and no more, the social lot of women might be treated with scientific certitude.[10]

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The Victorian society not only prevented women from acquiring useful knowledge, but also denied women the possibility of significant work., The attitude of the society towards a woman's identity is revealed in Mr. Waken's statement, "We don't ask what a woman does, we ask whom she belongs to".[11] Maggie's brother Tom does not allow her to help her family tide over the crisis. Instead, he himself works, pays off his father's debts and wins the approval of his family and of the society. Tom's attitude towards Maggie is indicative of men's attitude towards women. To them, a woman is mere an object to be jealously guarded for the sake of family pride.

Middlemarch presents female vocation as a social issue. The portrayal of St. Theresa with which the book opens serves as a standard by which to judge Dorothea. Theresa was a heroine whose "Passionate, ideal nature demanded as epic life."[12] Eliot remarks that women later born than Theresa have lacked the opportunity for epic self-fulfillment, especially because they "were helped by no coherent social faith and order which could perform the function of knowledge for the ardently willing soul".[13] The novel contains two tragedies of accomplishment falling far short of potential achievement - the cases of Lydgate and Dorothea. But there is one basic difference between the two cases. Whereas Lydgate has a clear idea of the field of medicine to which he must make his contribution, Dorothea is denied any such clear knowledge of her aim. Finally, she abandons her plan to do something for social betterment, marries Ladislaw and accepts the conventional role of wife and mother.

Gwendolen in *Daniel Deronda* thinks of a career for herself to escape the "bondage" of marriage. However, she soon realizes the inadequacy of her education which has not prepared her for any independent career. Mirah, and Daniel Deronda's mother, the Princess, raise more questions about female vocations. Of the two, only the Princess is serious about her career as an opera singer. She expresses her need for a career even at the cost of her family life. She abandons her child for her art. The princess challenges some of the most deep rooted assumptions about the role of a woman, "Every woman is supposed to have the same set of motives, or else to be a Monster. I am not a monster, but I have not felt exactly what other women feel or say they feel, for fear of being thought unlike others." [14] She further says, "I wanted to live a large life, with freedom to do what every one else did, and be carried along in a great current, not obliged to care." [15] She expresses the frustration an intelligent woman feels at being forced to adhere to a pattern that has been cut out for her by the patriarchal culture, "you are not a women. . . . You can never imagine what it is to have a man's force of genius in you, and yet to suffer the slavery of being a girl."[16]

Although the Princess is not presented as a likeable character and she is suffering from a mysterious wasting disease as a punishment for breaking the sanctified social codes, yet the very fact that what she says is made to sound

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so reasonable, suggests that George Eliot felt sympathetic towards her yearnings - if not at the conscious level then, surely at the subconscious level – she approves of what she says. It was a common device with the nineteenth century novelists to put their revolutionary ideas into the mouth of "bad" characters in order to escape public censure. In her portrayal of women like Maggie, Dorothea and the Princess, George Eliot indicates that women have a tremendous potential to achieve something useful, but society denies them the opportunity to employ themselves into any meaningful activity. A woman, like the Princess, who has the nerve to defy these restrictions is made into a social outcast.

In a patriarchal society, a woman's real being is distorted to meet the requirements of the male. Darwin in his book the *Descent of Man* (1871) claims that the physical beauty of a women forms the basis of sexual selection. The emphasis on a woman's physical beauty has led women to neglect their intellectual abilities. George Eliot satirises this distortion of female personality according to the needs of men in one of the epigraphs for *Daniel Deronda :*

> What woman should be ? Sir consult the taste of marriageable men :
> This planet's store
> .....
> Is wrought in shapes responsive to demand.
> Our' daughters must be wives,
> And to be wives must be what men will choose :
> Men's taste is women's test.[17]

In her novels, George Eliot clearly states that men value women primarily for their looks. Ladislaw is first struck with Dorothea's beauty when he sees her in the Vatican in a pose like that of a statue, and throughout the novel we are never allowed to forget the fact that he is interested only in her beauty. He never tries to understand the other aspects of her personality and is least interested in her ideas. Similarly, Lydgate too thinks of Rosamond as a "perfect piece of womanhood who would reverence her husband's mind after the fashion of an accomplished mermaid, using her comb and looking-glass and singing her song for the relaxation of his adored wisdom alone."[18]

The institution of marriage is critically examined in George Eliot's novels and is generally found wanting. Some of her novels discuss the possibility of an alternative vocation to marriage. Gwendolen in *Daniel Deronda* contemplates the possibility of some independent career, "the inmost fold of her questioning now, was whether she need take a husband at all – whether she could not achieve substantially for herself and know gratified ambition without bondage."[19] Deronda's mother too defies the notion that marriage is a necessity for women.

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THE COMMON PARADIGM OF WOMANHOOD: THE IMAGES OF WOMEN IN THE NOVELS OF GEORGE ELIOT

Women novelists like Jane Austen, Mrs. Gaskell and Charlotte Bronte predict perfect happiness for their heroines once they get married. But the same is not true of George Eliot's heroines whose experience in marriage is far from happy. The unhappiness often springs from their husbands' assumed superiority over them, who, however, are reluctant to accept a submissive role as readily as their predecessors did. Casaubon and Lydgate both expect absolute authority over their wives, whom they assume to be inferior to them. This tendency is carried to an extreme in Grandcourt who takes delight in mastering women, although he despises them. He firmly believes in the man's complete authority over his wife. Gwendolen gets none of the things a girl normally expects from a marriage – neither safety, nor stability, nor fulfilment.

The men George Eliot's heroines marry are often self-satisfied prigs. They have a very traditional view of women's needs and potential. Lydgate wants Rosamond to consider his superior intellect as " a shrine to consult on all occasions."[20] Casaubon thinks of himself as an "irreproachable husband, who would make a charming young woman as happy as she deserved to be".[21] Ladislaw thinks that Dorothea needs the hand of an artist to give her an identity. The novelist exposes these three different versions of male egoism.

George Eliot closely examines various factors which contribute to her heroine's unhappy married life. However, in her treatment of sexuality she remains as tight-lipped as her predecessors. The strain of this silence affects the texture and integrity of her novels. We are never told about the most crucial aspect of the Gwendolen-Grandcourt relationship – its sexual aspect. Similarly, in the Dorothea- Casaubon relationship she seems to be struggling to tell us about the sexual as well as the spiritual failure of their relationship. Nor is she successful in depicting the attraction between Dorothea and Ladislaw which is of a primarily sexual nature. In order to avoid facing the sexual conflicts and sexual feelings in her characters she often changes even such obviously sexual problems as prostitution and adultery into moral problems. It is her commitment to morality and to the notion of duty which prevents her from understanding the frustrations her women experience in trying to conform to the gender norms of a patriarchal culture. It is this very fact which is behind her failure to sympathise with characters like Hetty in *Adam Bede* and Rosamond Vincy in *Middlemarch* who are themselves the victims of society which approves triviality and encourages them to value appearance over substance with its insistence on women being nothing more than decorative objects to please men.

Furthermore, George Eliot has not been able to completely reject the stereotyped notion of women being either angels or monsters. In the contrast between her good and bad women – women with whom she sympathises and with whom she cannot – we see a reworking of the same old belief. But

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George Eliot's notions of morality are much more complex and she always keeps an ironic distance between herself and her good women. But the moral patterning remains and in this she shows herself as much more conventional than novelists like Hardy who discussed these abstract principles as negative and oppressive.

The compromise that George Eliot works out at the end of her novels is always at the expense of the individual and never at the expense of society. Maggie is made to renounce the love of Stephen as she feels that no happiness can result from self-indulgence. She deliberately chooses a life of confinement and misery. According to Annis Pratt the central conflict in the novel is "between her emotional and intellectual authenticity and her culture's insistence upon dutifulness and passivity for women ".[22] The limitations of Eliot's attitude are revealed in her inability to let Maggie come to terms with the situations.

Dorothea renounces the possibility of carrying out the housing plans in order to marry a man inferior to her.

> Many who knew her, thought it a pity that so substantive and rare a creature should have been absorbed into the life of another, and be known in a certain circle as a wife and mother. But no one stated exactly what else that was in her power she ought rather to have done – not even Sir James Chettam, who went no further than the negative prescription that she ought not to have married Will Ladislaw.[23]

George Eliot once again makes the social fact ultimately triumph over the aspirations of a woman, who as Kate Millet says, "can expect no more of life than the discovery of a good companion whom she can serve as secretary".[24]

The ending of *Daniel Deronda* is equally unsatisfactory. Gwendolen has learnt all the negative lessons. She has learnt what not to be, but is not told what to be. Ironically the enlargement of her vision makes her aware of her limitations. Nevertheless, in Gwendolen's portrait, we have a faint glimpse of "the new woman" - one who as Gillian Beer perceptively comments," has survived the business of sexual selection. Her image of herself is no longer simplified into a hierarchy of what is acceptable . Gwendolen has come to care for her own heterogeneity."[25]

The same pattern of women yielding before social pressure is repeated in some of her novels too. Dinah Morris gives up the preaching in order to marry Adam,Romola gives up all her noble aspirations in order to set up a home for her husband's mistress and illegitimate children, Esther Lyon gives up wealth and position to marry Felix Holt, Gilliam Beer maintains, "George Eliot is preoccupied with the interplay of organism and medium, but in her work tragedy is generated out of the impassibility of the medium – the very slow

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rate at which society accepts change, particularly change of assumptions whatever the diversity of practice, so that a quick being like Maggie or Dorothea will be trapped in time, in a medium whose rate of change lags, and so forecloses their futures."[26]

George Eliot does not allow her admirable women to succeed. The women who are successful are the least interesting of her creations. It is the rebels, however inadequate their rebellion, who command our interest and admiration. These are the women who are not content with the triviality of their existence. They want "*something more*", and the fact that they are not successful in achieving it, does not undermine the importance of their endeavour.

In her fiction, George Eliot may have abandoned her vision to explore "the common yearning of womanhood".[27] Midway, but in her own life, she demonstrated, as Henry James has remarked, "how few limitations are of necessity implied in the feminine organism . . . . "[28] She was not content to confine herself to women's issues. She demonstrated by her own example that all reasoned modes of discourse are not a male monopoly. She, as Virginia Woolf asserts, reached beyond the sanctuary of womanhood into men's preserves and "plucked for herself the strange bright fruits of art and knowledge" while not renouncing "her own inheritance – the difference of view. The difference of standard"[29]. Thus, George Eliot gave a lead to women's cause, if not in her fiction, then at least, in her life.

NOTES

1. Virginia Woolf, "George Eliot" in *The Common Reader* (London, 1925), p. 217.
2. George Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss* (Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd.) p. 8.
3. Ibid, 168.
4. Ibid, 319.
5. Ibid, 321.
6. George Eliot, *Middlemarch* (Penguin : 1965), p. 88.
7. Ibid, p. 123.
8. George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda* (Everyman's Library, 1964), p. 309.
9. Ibid, p. 339.
10. George Eliot, "Prelude", *Middlemarch*.
11. George Eliot, *The Mill of the Floss,* p. 108.
12. George Eliot, "Prelude", *Middlemarch*.
13. Ibid.
14. George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda,* p. 472.
15. Ibid., p. 473.
16. Ibid, p. 474.
17. George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda,* p. 71.

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18. George Eliot, *Middlemarch,* p. 628.
19. George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 187.
20. George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, p. 631.
21. Ibid., p. 231.
22. 'Annis Pratt, *(Archetypal Patterns in Women's Fiction* The Press, 1982), p. 76.
23. George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, p. 894.
24. Kate Millet, *Sexual Politics* (Doubleday and Company, 1970) , p. 139.
25. Gillian Beer, "Beyond Determinism : George Eliot and Virginia Woolf" in *Women Writing and Writing About Women.* ed. Jacobus, M. (London : Croom Helm), p. 94.
26. Ibid., p. 89.
27. George Eliot, "Prelude", *Middlemarch.*
28. Henry James, "The life of George Eliot" in *Partial Portraits* , (London, 1888), p. 62.
29. Virginia Woolf "George Eliot" in *The Common Reader*, p. 217.

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INFLUENCE OF THE WELSH BARDIC TRADITION IN THE POETRY OF DYLAN THOMAS

Neeta Joshi

The poems of Dylan Thomas (1914-53) represent a romantic revolt against much of the socially-conscious Marxist poetry that was being produced in the thirties. It was in 1934 with the publication of his first book *18 Poems* that Thomas first emerged as "a cataclysmic force among those poets deadened by traditionalism."[1] *18 Poems* was followed two years later by *Twenty-five Poems* and was greeted with emotions ranging from widespread consternation to a surprised delight. These poems being largely the product of a powerful individual imagination fired by passionate emotion and an inspired intuition were refreshingly original, even a little strange and mysterious. It was his Welsh background that fostered Thomas' belief in a romantic conception of the poet's function.

In order to examine the influence of the Welsh poetic tradition on Dylan Thomas it is desirable to go as far back as the sixth century. For about a thousand years, from the sixth to the sixteenth century Welsh poetry was primarily the product of professional activity. As Aneirin Talfan Davies writes : The Welsh 'bards' were anything but the popularly imagined white-gowned, ranting ecstatics ; rather, they were craftsmen, glorying in their craft, continually studying the problems of their art and forging new forms and patterns to express their thoughts and experiences . . . . It was a tradition of professionalism, and to a large degree professionalism which concentrated on the craftsmanship of verse, even to the point of the esoteric. The manipulation of language, metre and alliteration, became nearly to be an end in itself."[2] Given the patronage of Welsh Kings and the secure background of the court, the bards adopted a metrical code of writing which steadily developed into a more and more complex art while the subject matter remained necessarily limited. It was for all intents and purposes confined to the composition of eulogies of the princes and nobles and elegies for their deaths. This convention led to concentration upon ornamentation, upon form while the content was left to take care of itself. So much so, that many centuries later it prompted Gerard Manley Hopkins to suggest that "this love of ornamentation was a Celtic trait."[3]

As a result, it was left to minstrels or travelling bards to preserve the luxuriousness of the full Welsh language with its rich treasury of myths and

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romances. A.T. Davies has testified that there was an unbroken development in metrics and prosody from the Welsh poets of the sixth century, through the era of independent princes to the golden age of Welsh poetry in the fifteenth century.[4] He has further Observed :

> It was the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the period of the independent Princes of Wales, which laid the foundation for the structure of Welsh prosody, which was codified in the fourteenth century and modified in the fifteenth. This is the alliterative system known as '*cynghanedd*'.
>
> .....
>
> The Welsh metres are based on a strict syllabic count, but the stresses within the line are determined by the strict rules of the system of consonantal chiming, or alliteration, which is known as *cynghanedd*. The whole system is a method of harmonizing, not only the consonantal chiming, but also the vowel sounds as well. It is a means of counterpointing a stress against counted syllables, or what Gerard Manley Hopkins described as sprung rhythm.[5]

In the fifteenth century, just before the final fall of the independent Welsh princes Davyd Gwilym won official acclaim for a form of poetry called the *Kywydd* that mingled the traditions of court bard and minstrel. The Welsh poetic tradition, however, collapsed during the English Civil Wars and its revival in the National Eisteddfod has been influenced by Victorian reconstructions of the Druidic past. In "Author's Prologue" Thomas in keeping with the bardic tradition bestows equal care to the form as well as the content:

> Seaward the salmon, sucked sun slips,
> and the dumb swans drub blue
> My dabbed bay's dusk, as I hack
> This rumpus of shapes
> For you to know
> How I, a spinning man,
> Glory also this star, bird
> Roared, sea born, man torn, blood blest.
> Hark : I trumpet the place
> From fish to jumping hill ![6]

In these lines he uses all the devices of a bard, alliteration ("Seaward the salmon, sucked sun slips"), consonantal chiming ("And the dumb swans drub blue/ My dabbed bay's dusk") and assonance or a symphony of vowels together with internal rhyme (bird/Roared, sea born, man torn). Bardic exuberance and enthusiasm as well as a certain luxuriousness of language casts a romantic glow over this exquisite "rumpus of shapes."

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One traiditon survived in Wales and that was the tremendous respect which the Welsh had for the preacher-bard to whom certain mystical powers were attributed. It was due to this high estimation of the poet's vocation which derives from specific traditions of Welsh life and thought that Dylan came to have such a whole-hearted devotion and profound commitment to his "craft or sullen art" (p. 128). "For in ancient Wales or Ireland a poet was not merely a professional verse-writer : he was acknowledged to exercise extraordinary spiritual power."[7] In his later poems Thomas often visualised himself in the role of a prophet, conscious of his exalted function which was to mediate between man and God :

> . . . the closer I move
> To death, one man through his sundered hulks,
> The louder the sun blooms
> And the tusked, ramshackling sea exults;
> And every wave of the way
> And gale I tackle, the whole world then,
> With more triumphant faith
> Than ever was since the world was said,
> Spins its morning of praise.
>
> (p. 173)

Here he becomes a poet endowed with a special insight, a mystical vision. In "Over Sir John's Hill" the poet imagines himself as young Aesop fabling to the near night (p. 168), in "Poem in October" he equates himself with nature's priests, the druid herons who "steeple stemmed, bless" (p. 170) and in Author's Prologue" he visualizes himself as the modern counterpart of Noah building his "bellowing ark" (p. viii) over the flood of "fear, rage red, man-alive" (p. viii). In his apocalyptic and romantic conception of the poet, Dylan resembles the medieval bards. Important romantic traits, violent introspection, passionate intensity, a certain exuberance and rich luxuriousness of language together with a powerful imaginative vision are evident in the following lines :

> In
> The spin
> Of the sun
> In the spuming
> Cyclone of his wing
> For I was lost who am
> Crying at the man drenched throne
> In the first fury of his stream
> And the lightnings of adoration
> Back to black silence melt and mourn
> For I was lost who have come

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To dumbfounding haven
And the finding one
And the high noon
Of his wound
Blinds my
Cry.

(p. 140)

A.G.Prys-Jones has rightly observed, "No one who has read his poems or heard him declaim them can fail to recognize his bardic affinities - or the racial sources of his headlong rhetoric, his passionate intensity, his powerful imaginative strength and his mystical, religious vision. In one very real sense, he belonged to the company of the great pulpit orators of Wales who were often bards."[8]

Thomas was extremely sensitive to the sound of words. A feeling for the euphony and magnificence of words was deeply ingrained, perhaps innate, in him. His friend Bert Trick noted that when it came to his poems, "Dylan was concerned with the words, and the meaning could look after itself."[9] Indeed, as testified by his close friend Daniel Jones, "Dylan's ear for the sound of words was exceptional."[10] That this was, however, not at the expense of their meaning is indicated by this statement, from a letter to Vernon Watkins : "I don't find your way of criticizing at all irritating; you know that. It's the most helpful there is for me, and I want it to go on. about many suggestions of yours we'll always, of course, disagree, especially when they seem completely to misunderstand my meaning . . . . I think you are liable, in your criticisms of me, to undertake the value -- or, rather, the integrity, the wholeness - of what I am saying or trying to make clear that I am saying, and often to suggest alterations or amendments for purely musical motives"[11]. That Thomas laid as much emphasis on meaning as on sound, on content as well as on form, matter as well as manner, sense and sensibility, head and heart, is evident from this stanza :

And there could I marvel my birthday
Away but the weather turned around. And the true
Joy of the long dead child sang burning
In the sun.
It was my thirtieth
Year to heaven stood there then in the summer noon
Though the town below lay leaved with October blood.
O may my heart's truth
Still be sung
On this high hill in a year's turning.

(p. 104)

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"'Adam I love, my mad man's love is endless'" (p. 41) constitutes another symphony of sound and sense so typical of Thomas. These examples indicate that to Thomas sense was as important as sound, so much so, that his use of an elaborate prosody occasionally served to illuminate the meaning of the written word. For instance, the diamond shape of the stanzas found in the "Vision" section of the poem "Vision and Prayer" help to explain and illuminate the meaning of the poem itself. The first line is monosyllabic but with each successive line an additional syllable is added till the ninth line has as many as nine syllables. This would seem to indicate the birth of man from unity into multiplicity, into a world full of iridescent lights and sounds. the receding of the number of syllables with each successive line to a single syllable to form the diamond shape seems to imply that from this world of error and vast complexity and confusion man attains unity again through death or vision :

The
Born sea
Praised the sun
The finding one
And Upright Adam
Sang upon origin !
O the wings of the children !
The woundward flight of the ancient
Young from the canyons of oblivion !
The sky strike of the always slain
In battle ! the happening
Of saints to their vision !
The world winding home !
And the whole pain
Flows open
And I
Die.

(p. 142)

Therefore, it is amply evident that the diamond shape of this stanza is eminently suited to explicate the vision theme of the first section of the poem. Thomas Parry has observed in his *History of Welsh Literature* that in Welsh poetry down the ages "sound is as important as sense; that metre and *cynghanedd*, the whole framework of verse, are as much a part of the aesthetic effect as what is said."[12]

Thomas has indeed written many poems within strict patterns of rhyme and metre. The words with their appropriate metrical relationships often came unconsciously to the poet. Rational control only occurred in the end

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when sounds and images were finally organized. Perhaps Thomas' prior knowledge of certain patterns of the Welsh poetic tradition subconsciously directed his writing. His cultivation of elaborate stanzaic forms and an organic sound structure in keeping with the Welsh poetic tradition is also obvious in "Poem on His Birthday" :

The livelong river's robe
Of minnows wreathing around their prayer;
And far at sea he knows,
Who slaves to his crouched, eternal end
Under a serpent cloud,
Dolphins dive in their turnturtle dust,
The rippled seals streak down
To kill and their own tide daubing blood
Slides good in the sleek mouth.

(p. 171)

W. S. Merwin is justified in maintaining that "Dylan Thomas remains the most skilful maker of verse writing English : the stanzaic forms which he often fashioned for his rhythms are as complex and, for him, unhampering and informative as they seem to have been among the Welsh ollaves."[13]

In "The Prologue" the fist line rhymes with the last (the 102nd), the second with the penultimate (the 101st) and so on, working from both ends towards the centre of the poem which is a rhyming couplet : "Sheep white hollow farms/To Wales in my arms" (pp. viii-ix). Thomas also claimed at the same time that techniques of this kind "may be a waste of time for the reader, but not for the poet."[14] He patterned "I, in my intricate image" on 72 out of 108 line-endings, ending in *l* sounds. In "The Conversation of prayer" he employed complex internal rhyme which is a standard device in classical Welsh poetry with a remarkable musical effect :

1 2
The conversation of prayers about to be said
2 2
By the child going to bed and the man on the stairs
3 4
Who climbs to his dying love in her high room,
4 3
The one not caring to whom in his sleep he will move
1 2
And the other full of tears that she will be dead.

(p. 100)

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Thomas carries on this rhyming/assonance pattern throughout the four stanzas. It is true that Thomas felt that such bardic forms could not be assimilated by a poet writing in English. His BBC talk on "Welsh Poets" is quite explicit on this point : "These forms rely on a great deal of assonance and alliteration and most complicated internal rhyming and these effects in English have, in the hands of a few who have attempted to use them, succeeded only in warping, crabbing, and obscuring the natural genius of the English language."[15]. In 1952, in a letter to Stephen Spender, thanking him for his review of *Collected Poems* (Spender wrote, "His poetry is not so much influenced by, as soaked in, childhood experiences of the Bible and doubtless, also, Welsh bardic poetry"), Thomas remarked, "Oh, and I forgot I'm not influenced by Welsh bardic poetry. I can't read Welsh."[16] No matter how emphatic his denial, and whatever his reasons for denying the influence of Welsh bardic poetry, the evidence of the poems quoted above would indicate otherwise. The technical virtuosity and consummate artistry displayed in these poems are Welsh in spirit. Noting the ingenious complexity of the "elaborate arabesques"[17] which constitute his poems, one is inclined to agree with Davies' observation that Dylan Thomas is a "kindred spirit to the great Welsh professional poets of the Middle Ages, and equals them in the ardour of his cultivation of metric refinement and elaboration."[18]

Thomas showed the same skill as that displayed by the Welsh bards of yore in *cynghanedd* or harmony, especially in his later poems. Some of the more striking examples of this verbal device, which involves a complex interplay of vowel and consonant sounds and is typically Welsh, include "Sleep to a newborn sleep in a swaddling lion-leaf stroked and sang" (p. 113), "the lulled black-backed/Gull (p. 165)," sandgrain day in the bent bay's grave (p. 170), "Brandy and ripe in my bright, bass prime (p. 175), "And heard the lewd, wooed field flow to the coming frost" (p. 177), and "butter fat goose-girls, bounced in a gambo bed" (p. 177). Noting the convincing evidence available in his poems, we cannot, therefore, take Thomas at his word when he averred, "*Cynghanedd* is a foreign and closed form to me."[19]

At least as early as December 1934 when "I dreamed my genesis" was written, Thomas had adopted the syllable-counting system of versification, a scheme based on the number of syllables in each line irrespective of the pattern of stresses. Syllable-counting is the distinctive feature of classic Welsh prosody. In the draft of a letter addressed to an editor in 1934, Thomas wrote that "*I dreamed my genesis*" was "more or less based on Welsh rhythms, and may seem superficially a bit strange at first. "[20] His poems corroborate this statement made by Thomas when he was only twenty years old and lend credence to the view that he was not as ignorant of traditional bardic techniques as he sometimes liked to pretend. Gwn Jones is not unjustified in considering Thomas to be "Welsh in the cunning complexity of his metres,

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not only in the loose *cynghanedd*, the chime of consonants and pealing vowels, but in the relentless discipline of his verse."[21]

Another important characteristic of old Welsh poetry is a consciousness of the duality of existence, of the co-existence of life and death, the awareness simultaneously of summer and winter, light and dark, youth and age. This Welsh trait is also found in the poetry of Dylan Thomas. In his early work this gives rise to an element of paradox and antithesis with the juxtaposition of contrary images. Nevertheless Thomas brings about a successful resolution of all dualities through his elaborate technique which lays great emphasis upon formal qualities, the repetition of sound and rhythm, and the use of parallel constructions rather than a distinct narrative design. Because of the lack of a strict intellectual application the movement in the poem is concentric rather than linear. In fact, the movement of the poem itself seems to express this apprehension of the duality in nature :

A process in the weather of the heart
Turns damp to dry; the golden shot
Storms in the freezing tomb.
A weather in the quarter of the veins
Turns night to day; blood in their suns
Lights up the living worm.
A process in the eye forwarns
The bones of blindness; and the womb
Drives in a death as life leaks out.

(p. 6)

Thomas' Welshness is also evident in the density of the imagery of the best poems. In "The force that through the green fuse drives the flower," Thomas succeeds in achieving this tighter, more condensed structure. Like Keats in his odes, Thomas loads every rift with ore and tests "every nut and bolt"[22] of its texture :

The hand that whirls the water in the pool
Stirs the quicksand, that ropes the blowing wind
Hauls my shroud sail.
And I am dumb to tell the handing man
How of my clay is made the hangman's lime.

(p. 9)

All the important features which were an integral part of Welsh bardic poetry are found in Thomas' poems. To attribute these similarities between traditional Welsh verse and the poetry of Dylan Thomas to mere coincidence would, in the light of the evidence available in his poems themselves, be a little far-fetched. The facts presented in the preceding pages would seem to

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indicate that Thomas was cognizant of the technicalities of Welsh prosody not only via Gerard Manley Hopkins but also through many of his Welsh friends. Henry Treece opines, "Dylan Thomas is the only poet I have yet read who has learnt in any mentionable degree, both from the manner and matter of Gerard Manley Hopkins . . . ."[23] Thomas must also have come to know of the intricate prosody governing the Welsh poetic tradition from the author Glyn Jones and Aneirin Talfan Davies, the Welsh BBC producer who commissioned many of Thomas' broadcasts. But early in his life it must have been mainly his father, who knew not only the Welsh language but also the technicalities of Welsh bardic poetry, who must have provided him information regarding traditional Welsh verse. Matthew Arnold has also commented on this consummate artistry and excellence of style which he feels is a typically Celtic trait : "This something is *style*, and the Celts certainly have it in a wonderful measure. Style is the most striking quality of their poetry . . . by throwing all its force into style, by bending language at any rate to its will, and expressing the ideas it has with unsurpassable intensity, elevation and effect."[24] It is amazing how completely true this is of Dylan Thomas. Paul Ferris also concedes that "there is the obvious sense in which Thomas seems to be, if not Welsh, at least non-English. Many of his poems have the rich, dark melancholy and the flamboyant imagery that go with the "Celtic" character, whatever that may be. The temperature of the language is above normal by English standards. The poems are songs about mysteries without solutions, gravely set out for his audience by the Poet, a man with a recognized function."[25]

The fact that Thomas chose to write about the inner landscape of symbol rather than the exterior world of political and social reality can be attributed to his temperament which had to a very large extent been moulded by his Welsh background. It was Thomas' high estimation of the poet's vocation which was in keeping with specific traditions of Welsh thought and culture that did not permit him to make any compromise and stoop to writing propaganda poetry. The people in Wales did not consider a poet to be merely a professional verse-writer but a man who was also blessed with certain recondite powers and a mystical insight. Like the medieval bards, Thomas displayed a single-minded devotion to his craft which demanded complete integrity on the part of the poet. The Welsh community with its living bardic tradition had an inescapable influence on the young Dylan Thomas. He came to resemble his bardic ancestors in his headlong rhetoric, intensity of emotion, and imaginative vision. The liking for ceremony, ritual , and sacrament was accompanied by a most craftmanlike absorption in metrical and alliterative elaboration. His imagistic exuberance, eloquent and impassioned tone, majestic rhythms, the emotional rush of words, and a romantic preoccupation with the sound and music of words also indicate that he was an inheritor of the Welsh bardic tradition. The consummate technical virtuosity

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displayed in thomas' later poems is in the tradition of Welsh verse and conclusively proves - notwithstanding his prose statements - that Thomas was conversant with Welsh stylistic techniques.

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A PASSAGE TO INDIA AND *HEART OF DARKNESS* : INTO THE BELLY OF THE WHALE

Ram Narayan Panda

E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India* and Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* present the key characters as ardent questors. The types of experience those characters undergo carry strong resemblances to the questor-Hero's experience in the monomyth Joseph Campbell's *The Hero With a Thousand Faces* constitutes. Certain aspects of the protagonists' experiences, in these novels, individually, and at times commonly, fit into certain phases of the monomythic Hero's experience. However, at certain points, particularly in cases of certain protagonists' encounter with the final prize-objects of experience after the first threshold, a deviation from the Campbellian monomyth is distinctly noted. And, it is this deviation in these two novels – which marks a subversion of an aspect of the Campbellian monomyth – that seem to link them together and call for a comparative approach. Moreover, this deviation seems to reflect certain European impulses as well as social attitudes which are sought to be traced out in this paper following a comparative study of the protagonists' experiences in these novels in terms of their individual and common similarities with and differences from the Hero's experience in the Campbellian monomyth.

The pattern of Campbell's monomythic sequences may be outlined as follows : the Hero who cannot refuse the call for adventure, breaks away from his parental community and propels himself through a self-annihilative threshold of a rather painful experience into a contingent world of adventure in which, after undergoing a journey of adventurous feats, he meets the final prize-object of experience and possesses it. After the possession, he journeys back to the parental community where an atonement with the Father (or the parental figure) takes place. Thereafter, occasionally the Hero makes a second exit from the parental community in search of material fulfilment before his final propulsion which is characterized by a quest for meaning or a longing for a spiritual good involving a reckoning with death.

Our assessment of the similarities of the protagonists' experience in *Passage* and *Heart*, however, shall remain confined to the Hero's experience begining with his exit from parental community and ending in his return to parental community.

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Quite early, in both the works, the protagonists exhibit an intense desire for adventure. Marlow's talk makes it clear that he has maintained the same since childhood :

> At that time there were many blank spaces on the earth, and when I saw one that looked particularly inviting on a map (but they all look that) I would put my finger on it and say, when I grow up I will go there . . . . I have been in some of them and . . . . well, we won't talk about. But there was one yet – the biggest, the most blank, so to speak – that I had a hankering after. (Heart 11)

Adela and Mrs Moore, though different from each other in many respects, share an intense desire to see India in its true colour. In fact, this is one of the reasons which seem to have motivated their journey to India – a journey across water. Significantly Marlow's is also a journey across water.

Marlow's association with the trading company characterizes his journey across Congo as a search for ivory, a form of the material good signified by the final prize-object of experience in Campbell's pattern. It is clear that neither Mrs Moore nor Adela has to take possession of any material good in *Passage*. The final object of the Hero's experience in Campbell's pattern happens to be a woman sometimes whose possession denotes glory. Distinctly enough, Ronnie does not represent a prize-object for Adela since he had "commissioned" (Passage 25) Mrs Moore to bring her from England. Mrs Moore's speculations further clarify that "Miss Quested would probably though not certainly marry" (25) Ronnie. But the role of ivory in *Heart* could be equated with that of the character of Ronnie in *Passage* in so far as, as the narratives progress, both the question of marriage with Ronnie and that of material fulfilment through possession of ivory assume secondary importance.

In Campbell's pattern, the Hero, who does not refuse the call for adventure, is sometimes provided with a sort of supernatural aid, and is generally aided by an old woman. Although, in both the novels, the question of supernatural aid does not come into picture, Adela and Marlow are rendered meaningful help by an old woman each. Marlow is sufficiently aided by his aunt who gets him the job of the captain and conducts him into the main body of his adventurous experiences :

> She wrote : "It will be delightful. I am ready to do anything, anything for you. It is a glorious idea, I know the wife of a very high personage in the Administration, and also a man who has lots of influence with," etc., etc. She was determined to make no end of fuss to get me appointed skipper of a river steamboat, if such was my fancy. (12).

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Forgetting the fact that Mrs Moore's experience, too, deserves individual examination against Campbell's pattern, the obvious parallel to Marlow's aunt is Mrs Moore, the twice-widowed kindly old matron who escorts Adela to India and many places in India including the caves.

The crossing of the first threshold leads the Hero into unknown regions like deserts, jungles, deep sea, and alien lands which are free fields for projection of the mind's unconscious content. The nature of the Hero's experience involved in the crossing of the same threshold is rather painful and annihilative :

> The idea that the passage of the magical threshold is a transit into a sphere of rebirth is symbolized in the worldwide womb image of the belly of the whale. The hero, instead of conquering or conciliating the power of the threshold, is swallowed into the unknown, and would appear to have died. (Campbell 90)

Marlow's experience while signing " 'some document' " (15) towards his contract with the trading company, his encounter with the " 'old doctor' " (16), and the initial hardship he faces as he starts sailing out, sum up his threshold experience. Marlow's experience in the waiting-room with the two women who " 'knitted black wool feverishly' " (15), and with other people make him feel uneasy and isolated : " 'An eerie feeling came over me . . . . Often far away there I thought of these two, guarding the door of Darkness . . . . " (16). The doctor whom Marlow visits next proves to be insufferably intimidating in his attitude to Marlow's proposed mission. Marlow's threshold experience climaxes as he sets sail :

> The idleness of a passenger, my isolation against all these men with whom I had no point of contact, the oily and languid sea, the uniform sombreness of the coast, seemed to keep me away from the truth of things, within the toil of a mournful and senseless delusion. (19)

Passage opens with Adela & Mrs Moore having already arrived in India and does not offer any clues as to a similar threshold experience of their journey. Both the works present a journey from Europe to a world characterized by an absence of values with which the protagonists can identify themselves. Marlow, Kurtz, Adela, and Mrs Moore are Europeans. Marlow has set out for the world of wilderness, the dark continent. Adela & Mrs Moore's stay in India climaxes with their visit to the Marabar hills, a part of the Indian wilderness, and the dark caves.

The first thing the protagonists realise on their entry into the contingent world is that the things which made some sense in Europe do not make any over here. Marlow's experience after his propulsion into the contingent world of adventure perfectly fits into the Hero's experience in "belly of the whale"

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(90) in the Campbellian monomyth. Marlow's initial bewilderment and loss of the power of perception after he leaves Europe is strikingly similar to the Hero's experiences in Campbell's pattern. Marlow insists on the "unreal" (35) character of his experience. He claims the sense of dream, of phantasmagoria and nightmare as of the essence of his experience. Marlow's reaction to the ship while sailing down the coast of west Africa testifies to this :

> In the empty immensity of earth, sky, and water, there she was, incomprehensible, firing into a continent. Pop, would go one of the six-inch guns; a small flame would dart and vanish, a little white smoke would disappear . . . there was a touch of insanity in the proceedings, a sense of lugubrious drollery in the sight. (20)

He observes that there is nothing common in Africa with his psychic inheritance of European ideals. Marlow, as he disembarks, fails to make any sense of a railway apparently being built. Familiar artifacts are transformed into strange beasts : a boiler is " 'wallowing in the grass' " (22), a truck lies " 'on its back with its wheels in the air' " (22). Marlow's encounter with the " 'Six black men' " (22), the " 'Strong, lusty, red-eyed devils' " (23), the " 'Black shapes'" (24) who " 'had withdrawn to die' " (24) heighten his fear and isolation : " 'My purpose was to stroll into the shade for a moment; but no sooner within than it seemed to me I had stepped into the gloomy circle of some inferno' " (24). The " 'disease' ", the " 'only thing that ever came' " (35) to the pilgrims, and the " 'old hippo that had the bad habit of getting out on the bank and roaming at night over the station grounds' " (41) are some of the dangerous presences typical of the ones the Hero in Campbell's pattern encounters.

Like Marlow, who, immediately on his entry into the contingent world, remains out of touch with everything, Mrs Moore and Adela are without any meaningful contact in India before they pick up Fielding and Aziz for friends. But, the degree of bewilderment Adela and Mrs Moore experience is much lower than Marlow's. Mrs More, a representative of the positive aspects of the European civilization, encounters a different set of values at work even in the Anglo-Indian community in India. Ronnie dismays her with his anti-humanistically pragmatic outlook when he pleads, " 'I am out here to work, mind, to hold this wretched country by force . . . . We're not pleasant in India, and we don't intend to be pleasant. We've something more importantto do'" (50). But Mrs Moore speaks of her ideals quite assertively : " 'Because India is part of the earth and God has put us on the earth in order to be pleasant to each other. God . . . is . . . love' " (51). Even Adela does not respond favourably to Ronnie's attitude toward Indians.

Adela and Mrs Moore are ill at ease with the Anglo-Indians. Secondly, India remains well beyond their grasp for the most part. They wonder whether

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India is a "mystery" or a "muddle" (68). Whatever it is, both of them are caught in the same. It remains beyond their comprehension when Aziz takes them behind the Bhattacharyas' lapse : " 'I think for my own part they grew ashamed of their house and that is why they did not send' " (68). Adela replies" : ' I do...hate mysteries' " (68). The idea of the ghost the Nawab Bahadur and others associate with the accident cannot penetrate her rational self. On the contrary, no sooner is Mrs Moore mentioned about the accident than she claims " 'A ghost' " (94). Although her reaction to the Bhattacharyas' lapse is somewhat identical to Adela's, Mrs Moore is, comparatively, at ease in India. She moves out of the club freely and walks into the mosque. She takes the alarm caused by Aziz easy and forms friendship with Aziz quite spontaneously.

As regards the question of dangerous presences in the "belly of the whale," India presents herself before Mrs Moore and Adela as a world primarily dangerous in its physical aspects. In Chapter 2, Aziz cautions Mrs Moore, "there are bad characters about and leopards may come across from the Marabar Hills. Snakes also' " (22). " 'Crocodiles down in' " (32) Ganges, "wasps " with "long yellow legs" (34), and hyenas that "prowl in nullahs" (87), are certain other dangerous presences.

Like the Hero in Campbell's pattern the protagonists, in these two works, undergo a phase of initiation comprising a series of trails subsequent to the phase of initial discomfiture in the "belly of the whale." The trials on Marlow's part are more or less confined to the hardships connected with sailing, the threatening aspects of the jungle, and the intimidating character of the people he comes across. Marlow details his initiation :

> There were moments when one's past came back to one . . . in the shape of an unrestful and noisy dream, remembered with wonder amongst the overwhelming realities of this strange world of plants, and water, and silence. And this stillness of life did not in the least resemble a peace. It was the stillness of an implacable force brooding over an inscrutable intention. It looked at you with a vengeful aspect. I got used to it afterwards . . . . (48-9)

The failure of the Bridge Party, Fielding's tea party, and the Bhattacharyas' lapse are the common trails Mrs Moore and Adela undergo whereas, individually, Mrs Moore undergoes a trial in the form of Aziz's alarm at the Mosque, and Adela, the trial of the road accident.

The final objects of experience in *Passage* and *Heart* are the caves and Mr Kurtz respectively. Unlike the Hero's glorious possession of the final object of experience which marks the culminating point of his journey after the first threshold, the protagonists' encounter with the final objects, particularly Marlow's and Adela's, is characterized by a kind of disillusionment. Marlow's

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longing for a meeting with Kurtz has a strong idealistic rooting since Kurtz epitomized a commitment to the policy which held that every station should, besides being a centre of trade, indulge in activities like humanizing, improving, and instructing. Marlow comments : " 'All Europe contributed to the making of Mr Kurtz' " (71). But, with Kurtz having totally abandoned himself to primitive lusts, Marlow's encounter with him fetches him utter frustration and disillusionment. Marlow's repulsion crystallizes as he differentiates himself from Kurtz in his refusal to condone a surrender to the primitive :

> No. It is his extremity that I seem to have lived through. True, he had made that last stride, he had stepped over the edge, while I had been permitted to draw back my hesitating foot. And perhaps in this is the whole deference; perhaps all the wisdom, and all truth, and all sincerity, are just compressed into that inappreciable moment of time in which we step over the threshold of the invisible. (101)

The caves in *Passage* represent a world devoid of any values whatsoever. Adela, an European with an intellectual pose, goes there primarily with the gusto of a tourist. Distinctly enough, Aziz did not make an attempt to rape her. Different critics offer different psychological explanations to her charge against Aziz. Regardless of whatever psychological reasons are attributed to her experience, intense repulsion happens to be the resultant reaction in Adela.

Like Adela strikes a parallel to Marlow, Mrs More's experience with the caves is partially identical to Kurtz's experience with the African wilderness. Their experiences disintegrate them. Kurtz is comprehensively overwhelmed by the wilderness. Mrs Moore, who cannot recover from her experience in the cave, virtually relapses into a "cave of" her "own" (195) and turns apathetic. She is also overwhelmed.

Although the Campbellian hero usually makes an atonement with the Father on his return to parental community, the protagonists, in these two novels, do not have to make anything of that sort. Marlow's return is made clear in Chapter 1 itself when the unknown narrator, with whom the narrative opens and concludes, tells that Marlow, after his return from the "heart of darkness" (50), continues to share with him and others "the bond of the sea" (5). His parental community is the community of seamen although he is unique among his seamen friends :

> He was a seaman, but he was a wanderer, too, while most seamen lead, if one may so express it, a sedentary life. Their minds are of the stay-at-home order, and their home is always with them — the ship; and so is their country — the sea. (8)

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Consequent upon her experience in the cave, Adela's mental relapse into her parental English community is immediate and spontaneous which is why she cannot even stand the sight of Miss Derek's Indian driver on her descent from the cave on the hill. Adela returns to England later as her experience with the Anglo-Indian community turns out to be disastrous. Mrs Moore, too, leaves India with the hope of meeting her other children but dies on her way out.

Such a comparative scheme, which involves a two-fold comparison (comparing the novels individually against the Campbellian pattern, and comparing them against each other), helps promote the understanding of each of the two novels, for both the similarities and the dissimilarities, as we have seen, derive themselves from the Campbellian pattern which serves as the base. On the whole, this study of the two novels helps uncover the Campbellian monomythic dimensions in both characters and events which together construct the thematic oeuvre. The thematic project in both the novels may be said to centre around the testing of a civilized being (like the Hero who carries the values of parental world) against the incomprehensible forces of an alien world. In other words, the roots of civilization are tested upon. The protagonists' encounter with the final objects of experience marks a point of variation from the Hero's experience in Campbell's pattern. The thematic conclusion, in the context of the present comparison, may be said to rest on the protagonists' inability, with the ironical exception of Kurtz, to come to terms with the final objects, and return to parental community. The protagonists, return to parental community, which is similar to the Hero's, involves an authorial (probably also social) tendency not to segregate the civilized individual from the civilized society. This tendency also forms another significant aspect of the thematic conclusion.

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THE CONCEPT OF SUBLIMATION IN PSYCHOANALYSIS AND LITERATURE

Kailash Ch. Baral

I

The concept of sublimation serves as a link between psychoanalysis and human culture. In psychoanalysis sublimation is a process by which the energy of an unconscious impulse is deflected so as to express itself in a disguised form in socially acceptable activities what appears to be a higher satisfaction for a lower. This strategic concept, has not received the critical attention it deserves, because most of the critics either share Freud's fear of the uncontrollable nature of the sexual impulse as a hindering process in the way of sublimation or they find Freud's concept of sublimation as a process to be unstable in nature. However, the process of sublimation as a way out from the instinctual repression having socially and aesthetically useful objectives helps for a broader understanding of the concept, and paves the way for the acceptance of psychoanalysis not only as a method for the study of the symptoms of the mentally sick, but at the same time, as a system, encompassing useful directions for the understanding of art, creativity and literature. This paper attempts to highlight on the process of sublimation both from psychoanalytic and literary points of view.

II

Sublimation as a process to a greater extent is the means and the result is the 'Sublime'. The history of aesthetics all along attributed immense importance to the concept of the 'sublime' as an accompanying concept of the 'beautiful.' The concept of the 'sublime' traditionally, is considered as an inclusive power of grandeur in a work of art. And again psychologically, sublime is associated with exalted feeling or elevated thought in the mind of the artist. Therefore, the concept of 'sublime' operates both at physical and psychological levels. In the doctrine of Platonic 'ideas', the concept of the sublime has been treated generically being appropriated to the equivalent of the inclusive universal in the object and also is attributed to 'feeding and watering of passion'. Platonism has tended to ascribe 'sublime' to the big, the overwhelming and the awesome.[1] It is in the writings of Cassius Longinus, the philosopher-rhetorician of the third century that the concept of the 'sublime' for the first time was discussed systematically. Apart from the rhetorical characteristics of the concept, Longinus struck an important point almost

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close to the psychologist saying that 'it is the cultivation of the poet's soul'. Out of the five sources of the sublime in the essay of Longinus, the first two sources are psychologically significant as they deal with "vehement and inspired passion", along with the power of forming great ideas. "Art", says Longinus, "is perfect when it seems to be nature, and nature hits the mark when she contains art hidden within her".[2] Like Plato, Longinus believed in a kind of preconceived idea of perfection in nature. The theoreticians of classical and medieval period attempted to see in human culture a striving towards that perfection. This striving underlines the shift of perspective from the physical to the psychic characteristics of the concept of the 'sublime'. The so called 'inspired passion : vehement and lofty' is at the origin and development of the process of Sublimation.

In medieval Germany, the concept of the 'sublime' was used as an adaptation of the Latin, 'sublimare' and latter German thinkers such as, Goethe, Novalis, Schopenhauer and Neitzsche had also employed the concept variously. Goethe said that "human feelings and events" could not be brought upon the stage "in original naturalness – they must be brought, prepared, sublimated."[3] Novalis put it : "The coarse phillistine imagines the joys of the heaven as fair .... the sublimated one turns heaven into a meaningful church. As the world is quasi a deposit of human nature, thus the world of the gods is its sublimation. Both happen uno actu"[4]. Schopenhauer spoke of "representation" as sublimated abstract concepts.[5] Outside the German tradition, Edmund Burke distinguishes sublime from the beautiful in psychological terms. While the beautiful, according to Burke, is finite and produces unmixed delight, the sublime is infinite and produces delight mixed with and qualified by terror or pain. Burke's examination of the concept of the 'sublime' influenced Lessing and the romantic movement, underlining the importance of terror and pain.[6] Kant followed Burke's lead and eliminated the factors of terror and pain while considering the 'sublime'. He regarded the beautiful as that which conforms to our faculties, and the sublime as that which is too vast thus to conform. In his *Critique of Judgement*, Kant attempted to explain the concept of 'sublime' more elaborately attributing its understanding to reason. Thus the sublime is not, as might in first sight be supposed, a quality inherent in natural object, but a feeling which the contemplation of a natural object provokes in us. It could have no existence outside human culture, yet it is not a mere product of culture or social convention. "Rather it is in human nature that its foundations are laid and infact, in that which at once with common understanding, we may expect every one to possess and may require of him, namely a native capacity for the feeling for (practical) ideas, that is for normal feeling."[7] The romantics treated the concept of 'sublime' mostly from a subjective point of view. All these views appear to have concerned with the psychic aspect of the process of sublimation. It is indeed in the philosophical writings of Neitzsche that for the first time, a

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pathological explanation was attempted about the process of sublimation. It is in this context that Freud came closest to the intuitive ideas of Nietzsche.

III

Nictzsche first used the term in the first aphorism of *Human All Too Human* (1878) and discussed the subject relating to "sublimated sexuality" in the second volume. "One may add that Nietzsche used the word sublimation on and off in his latter writings; that in a discussion of Platonic *Eros* and the *Symposium* he refers to the "sublimated sex impulse" (XI, 259) and that almost the same use is made of the word in a discussion of Christian love (J. 189; cf. GM ii 7); while in *The Will To Power*, Nietzsche speaks of the artist's sublimation of his impulses (677), thus making clear the connection between Goethe's usage and the modern one."[8] For both Nietzsche and Freud, the life of the instincts particularly the sexual instincts are very important. Sublimation occurs when the sexual instinct changes its aim and objective and turns non-sexual.

In psychoanalysis, sublimation is understood to be an unconscious process by which the libido is deflected so as to express itself in some non-sexual and socially approved activity. It is a process which facilitates the individual to overcome the demands of the unruly sexual impulses and makes him a social. The channelization of the sexual energy results in aesthetically fruitful objectives. This process involves a sacrifice in the part of sexual instinct. Freud viewed the whole process in the following way :

> We believed that civilization has been created under the pressure of the exigencies of life at the cost of satisfaction of the instincts; and we believe that civilization to a large extent being constantly created anew, since each individual who makes a fresh entry into human society repeats this sacrifices of instinctual satisfaction for the benefit of the whole community. Among the instinctual forces which are put to this use, the sexual impulses play an important part; in this process they are sublimated — that is to say, they are diverted from their sexual aims and directed to others that are socially higher and no longer sexual.[9]

Freud in these lines asserted what Nietzsche had thought in the context of the sublimation of the sexual impulses. Freud indeed, was apprehensive of the unstable nature of the sexual instincts. Nevertheless, sublimation as a process provides an opportunity to the repressive sexual instincts to get deflected. "These sexual impulses also make contributions that must not be under-estimated to the highest cultural, artistic and social creations of the human spirit," [10] Freud added.

Both Nietzsche and Freud took sublimation as the overcoming power by which one could overcome the instinctual vicissitudes. Like Freud, Nietzsche

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believed that a sexual impulse will be channelized into a creative spiritual activity instead of being fulfilled directly. In this context Nietzsche described two stages of sublimation : first the original aim is subdued and in the next stage it is attached to the wish to will to power. However, Freud did not accept the concept of will to power as understood by Nietzsche. He all along was apprehensive of the untamed nature of the sexual instincts. In *Beyond The Pleasure Principle* (1922) he made his fears sound more concrete :

> "It may be difficult, too, for many of us to abandon the belief that there is an instinct towards perfection at work in human beings, which has brought them to their present high level of intellectual achievement and ethical sublimation and which may be expected to watch over their development into superman. I have no faith, however, in the existence of any such internal instinct and I cannot see how this benevolent illusion is to be preserved."[11]

Freud found the structure of sublimation to be insecure. The incongruity in this contention is predictably the outcome of Freud's unshakeable faith in the animal nature of man. Again Freud did not accept Nietzsche's idea of a separate instinct persuing towards perfection outside his topographic division of the psyche into id and ego instincts (or life instinct; Eros and Death instinct; Thanatos).

However, this conviction should not come into conflict with sublimation as a process providing the means to overcome the animality. There should not be any confusion on the existence of such a means without arguing on its effectiveness. Freud in his letter to Oscar Pfister expressed his confidence on the process of sublimation. In his words :

> "The permanent success of psychoanalysis certainly depends on the coincidence of two issues : the obtaining of satisfaction by the release of the tension and the sublimation of the shear instinctual drive."[12]

The understanding of the concept of sublimation and its effectiveness, can be understood by attempting a close reading of both Freud and Nietzsche. Nietzsche believed that "a man without impulses could not do the good, or create the beautiful any more than a castrated can beget children. A man with a strong impulse might be evil because he has not yet learnt to sublimate his impulses, but if he should acquire self-control he might achieve greatness. In that sense, there is more joy in heaven over one repentant sinner than over ninety-nine men – if the latter are just only because they are too feeble ever to have sinned."[13] Freud's understanding of the concept comes to the same meaning in its ethical sense :

> "What appears in a majority of individuals as an untiring impulsion towards further perfection can easily be understood as a result of the

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> instinctual repression upon which is based all that is most precious in human civilization. The repressed instinct never ceases to strive for complete satisfaction. No substitutive or creative formation and no sublimation will suffice to remove the repressed instincts persisting tension; and it is the difference in amount between the pleasure of satisfaction which is demanded and that which is actually achieved that provides the driving factor which will permit of no halting at any position attained, but, in the poet's words 'ungerbandigt immer vor wart dringt' (presses ever ever forward unsubdued; Mephostopheles in Faust, Part I, Scene 4).[14]

This observation of Freud helps us to put the concept of sublimation in a clearer perspective. Occasions where primary instinctual drive for pleasure does not change, it gets modified by which the sexual energy is utilised. In this context Nietzsche maintained that only the energy remains, while the objective of the impulse changes :

> For the energy is as non-descript as Aristotle's matter, while the objective appears to define the very essence of an impulse. Neitzsche however, insists in conformity with tradition that what remains is the essence and what is changed is accidental.[15]

Thus Nietzsche's elaboration on the nature of sublimation simplifies the difficulty of its psychoanalytic equivalent. While attempting an analytic view of the concept of sublimation, Freud almost corroborated to Nietzsche's understanding. Freud found that transformation and modification are two important aspects of the process of sublimation. In his words : "A certain kind of modification of the aim and the change of the object in which our social valuation is taken into account is described by us as sublimation." [16] This formulation not only brings individual and society together but also body and soul. Norman O'Brown expresses his unhappiness at the neo-Freudians abandoning the concept of the body, in his words :

> But the concept of sublimation is a command to relate the human spirit (and its creations) to the human body. In abandoning the concept, the neo-Freudians abandon the body, then inevitably have to return to autonomous spiritual concepts and norms traditional in Western culture and challenged by Freud.[17]

The attempt of the neo-Freudians to substitute the concept of sublimation "with democratic personality" or "self actualizing personality" in the context of the relationship that exists between individual and society, contradict the basic Freudian premise that social phenomena are pathologic. Inspite of all the above conceptual variance about the process of sublimation, it is an accepted fact that for various purposes of culture, self-preservation, art and

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literature, the importance of the process of sublimation cannot be underestimated.

IV

A shift from the pathologic to the aesthetic dimensions of the process of sublimation makes interesting reading. The process of sublimation both traditionally and psychoanalytically, deals mostly with the issue of creativity. In Platonic doctrine the ability to sublimate in the part of the poet is considered as divine dispensation or a form of madness. As Plato puts it :

> For a poet is a light and winged and holy thing, and there is no invention in him until he has been inspired and is out of his senses, and the mind is no longer in him : when he has not attained to this state, he is powerless and unable to attend his oracle – 534.[18]

Besides the divine power of the poet, it is inspiration that is most important, according to Plato, to ignite the creative power. Platonic inspirational theory of Creativity is crucial to literary theory as it is at the centre of the romantic theory of art. Ascribing the status of a romantist to Longinus, Wimssat and Monre observe :

> When a rhetorician of the first century A.D. writes : 'sublimity is the echo of a great soul' or when he tells us that 'Homer enters into the sublime actions of his heroes,' and shares the full inspiration of the combat', we shall not be surprised to find this rhetorician considered as a distant harbinger of romanticism and greeted by the warmest terms of Saintsbury. One may wish to argue whether Longinus should be called romantic, but there can hardly be a doubt that in one important way he is.[19]

The most important aspect of romantic theory of creativity is its subjective dimension which depends as much on 'inspired passion' as on the gift of the poet's mind. The motive aspect of the 'sublime' having a strong psychological orientation, is associated with Platonic ideas as well as the thesis of Longinus. Cleanth Brooks and Wimssat Jr. point out that : "The modern career of Longinus, which began with the first edition by Robortello in 1554 and reached its influential phase with the translation of Boileau, *Du Sublime*, in 1674, was a strain of classicism very well qualified to promote a subjective and inspirationalist trend in contemporary poetics. Such a trend was in part to be expected in the tradition of Descarte's Treatise on the Passions of the Soul."[20] Thus the concept of the sublime got well along with the emerging principle of association by emotive congruity, as a subjective experience of the genius. Again the concept of inspiration has been viewed as a complementary aspect of sublimation; "Inspiration promotes Sublimation. The excitation accompanying the inspirational phase of artistic activity can be thought of as a transformation of the psychosexual forces being sublimated."[21] In the romantic

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poetics, the concept of the sublime came hand in hand with the theory of imagination. "Coleridge actually placed either the concept of sublime or its components the emotive, and the vaguely grand, very near the context of the complex of qualities by which the imagination and hence poetry are defined."[22] Freud's views on art and literature to a larger extent fall through the schemes of romanticism. He is often treated as one of the important pillars of German romanticism. As Philip Reiff puts it :

> To think of him (Freud) as a romantic despite his ardent faith in science involves no contradiction for though he insisted on the pre-rational core of human nature, Freud remained a rationalist. Indeed, there is a peculiar convergence of the two-notions of the scientific ideal of rational neutrality and the romantic debunking of nature.[23]

Reiff's observation clarifies the problem of Freudian position in the context of romantic ideology. Though Freud was strictly adhered to reason, yet he was dealing with the subjective aspect of man's life, known as the hiddenself of man which constitutes the fundamental basis of romanticism.

V

Focusing on the process of sublimation from psychoanalytic point of view one is led to believe that Freud was familiar with the literary application of the concept. He attempted the understanding of the concept at two levels; repressive and non-repressive. Non-repressive sublimation is exemplified in 'higher' mental work such as science and art and is accessible only to the elite. The masses on the other hand are lazy and unintelligent. They have no love for instinctual renunciation and must be coerced to the necessary sublimation of manual work. Freud believed that the aptitude for sublimation is subject to greatest variation. While talking about the creative artist, Freud asserted that "their constitution probably includes a strong capacity for sublimation and a certain degree of laxity in the repressions which are decisive for a conflict."[24] This view of Freud, in the context of the psychoanalytic theory of creativity is crucial because creation of art as substitutive gratification provides more scope for sublimation through the artist's repressive conflicts. At the sametime, Freud acknowledges a non-repressive sublimation for creativity also. Whether the origin of sublimation is pathologic (as repressive) or not Pathologic (as non-repressive), the fact remains that sublimation as a process is incontrovertible for the purpose of creativity. Ascribing significance to the non-repressive origin of creativity, Freud asserted that "sublimation is a way out, a way which the claims of the ego can be met without involving repression."[25]

Like Coleridge, Freud believed in the esemplastic power of the artist by which he blends different aspects of his own conflicts and fantasy in the body of the work of art and presents it altogether in a different mode. The superior

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artist enjoys quantitatively superior capacity for sublimation. The three important factors characteristic of the artistic endowment – the artistic gift, the power to sublimate and the special laxity in the artistic repression – though contribute towards making a full artist, yet the power to sublimate has become the most important instrument.

In the context of creativity, the artistic gift, according to Freud's understanding depends heavily on the proces of sublimation in order to overcome the neurotic aspects of creative impulse. However, opinions differ on the question; whether the artist is neurotic or not, or how much neurotic he is ? But Freud approached the issue in a different manner. He believed that inspite of quantitative differences, every human being has a tendency towards neuroses. Therefore, there is nothing exceptional for the artist having neurotic tendencies. But the significant point is that the artist is able to score over the neurotic because of his ability to return to reality by which he allows his neurosis to be channelized into productive activity through sublimation.

> There is infact, a path from fantasy back again to reality and that is art. The artist has an introverted disposition and has not far to go to become neurotic..... There must be many factors in combination to prevent this (the artist achieving substitute gratification of his fantasy in reality)* becoming the whole outcome of his development, it is well known how often artists in particular suffer from partial inhibition of their capacities through neurosis. Probably their constitution is endowed with a powerful capacity for sublimation and with a certain flexibility in the repressions determining the conflict.[26]

The repression is outbalanced by the power of sublimation which provides the artist way back to reality. The key question highly debated among the critics is the relationship between the artist and neurosis. William Barret,[27] and Lionel Trilling[28] present opposite views while Edmund Wilson [29] ascribes the artistic neurosis to creative wound alluding to the myth of *Philoctetes*. However the observation of Trilling is important for our present discussion. He is of the view that the artist's special ability to sublimate and his flexibility of repression are striking factors of Freud's insights on art.

VI

In the post-structural reading of Freud, Harold Bloom takes on Freud essentially as a prose-poet. Bloom in the context of 'romantic crisis poetry' and the 'catastrophe theory of creativity' explains Freud's concept of the sublime as negative :

> Psychoanalytic explanation of Creativity tends to discount or repress two particular aspects of the geneology of aesthetics : First, that the creative

*Parenthesis mine

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> or sublime 'moment' is a negative moment; second, that this moment tends to rise out of an encounter with some one else's prior moment of negation, which in turn goes back to an anterior moment, and so on."[30]

While linking the psychic structure of Freud to the literary notion of the sublime, Bloom equates the process of sublimation as the power of overcoming the unpleasure. Attempting a discussion on the sublime, on the opinions of Trilling, Wollheim, Wilden and others and taking into account the philosophical traditions of Heraclitus, Plato, Goethe, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Heidegger, Bloom comes to the psychoanalytic explanation of creativity. He considers the primary process of Freud vis-a-vis Lacan's "I" and takes Freud's essay on *The Uncanny (1919)* to be the essence of the Psychoanalytic theory of the sublime. He points out a gap in Freud's theory of repression. "The sublime as I read Freud, is one of his major *repressed* concerns, and this literary repression on his part is a clue to what I take to be a gap in his theory of repression. However, Bloom credits Freud as the last great theorist of the Sublime. He feels that Freud attempted a definite thesis on the concept of sublime in the Post-Enlightenment period. Attempting a definition of literary sublime, Bloom says :

> I would venture one definition of the literary sublime (which to me seems always a negative sublime) as being that mode in which the poet expressing previously repressed thought, desire and emotion is able to continue to defend himself against his own created image by disowning it, a defence of *Un-naming* it rather than *naming* it.[31]

Bloom has taken his lead from Longinus, Milton and Pope and arrives at the conclusion that Freud as a poet, "is himself the great sublime he draws." Freud's genius is equalled to the genius of Proust or Montaigne. "In the *Essays* of Montaigne or Proust's vast novel, this ongoing mediation is clearer that it is in Freud's almost perpertual self-revision , because Freud wrote no definitive, single text, but the canon of Freud's writings shows an increasingly uneasy sense that he has become his own precursor and that he had begun to defend himself against himself by deliberately audacious arrivals at final position."[32]

Following Lacan, Bloom considers Psychoanalysis as a 'science of tropes'. The whole body of Psychoanalytic discourse, it treated beyond its biological scheme. Bloom differentiates between the empiricist early Freud and the poetic later Freud. If the latter Freud revises the early Freud by exchanging a notion of drive as quantifiable libido for a notion of drive as immeasurable fiction or trope, the process also includes a theory of literary language as distinct from the language of Science, and that justifies and sustains Freud's status as the poet of the Sublime.

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Bloom's thesis on the Sublime takes us beyond our starting point. Undoubtedly, the concept of sublimation has come to occupy an important place in the psychoanalytic scheme of things, apart from its philosophic and literary aspects. Further, the creative achievements of Freud as viewed by Bloom, goes beyond his concepts on sublimation and becomes a veritable thesis of the Sublime. Freud has become, in fact, on the line of the revisionist poetics of Bloom, the greatest practitioner of the Sublime.

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IDEOLOGY IN SAUL BELLOW'S *MR. SAMMLER'S PLANET*

D.Venkateswarlu

> Of course, assuming that we do not live one of these ideologies (religious, legal, political, ethical) as truth . . . , we admit that the ideology we are discussing from a critical point of view, examining it as the ethnologist examines the myths of a 'primitive society', that these 'world outlooks' are largely imaginary, i.e., do not 'correspond to reality'[1]
>
> — Louis Althusser

Ideology, in the Marxist context, is generally viewed as false consciousness that is imposed by a dominant class on others, the proletariat, for example, in order to perpetuate their interests. Georg Lukacs calls it 'reification'[2] which signifies that though one may perceive particular social reality as truth, it is often merely an illusion and thus the perception reinforced by the process of 'reification' can only lead to false conclusions. In fact, there is a greater element of truth in Adorno's comments that, "To-day ideology means society as appearance".[3] For certain German thinkers, like Max Weber[4] and Karl Mannheim[5], ideology does not have the same connotations. It is in the Marxist sense that the term is used here. Ideology is "a system of interested deceit"[6] in order to subjugate or exploit the disadvantaged in a society or their cultural manifestations.

How does a writer grapple with such imaginary relations to perceive the truth in a social reality ? Or should he accept Karl Mannheim's view in *Ideology and Utopia* that all our knowledge of truth is relational since we achieve such knowledge through the prism of ideology and, therefore, should give up hope of ever finding the truth ? It poses infinite problems for a creative writer, Saul Bellow in our case, who pretends to reflect or comment upon a particular social ambience. This is also not to deny that the writer may choose to spread ideological positions to his advantage in case he belongs to the same class or supports it as part of his political agenda. If creative writing embodies such complexities of imaginary relations since they are very much part of the ideological syndrome, the implied reader of any book should be extremely cautious in his/her response to these works. One has to necessarily wade through the hypnotic human dimensions of a work of art to encounter the invidious network of 'false consciousness'; otherwise, he/she too would be an unwitting partner in propagating the author's ideology. Consequently,

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the critic/reader slips into a position of an adversary; but probably that is an essential price one has to pay in interpreting any literary product or, for that matter, any work.

It is in this background, Saul Bellow's *Mr. Sammler's Planet*[7] is discussed in this paper with a special reference to his portrayal of the New Left and other related matters. In this connection I am constantly, and certainly profitably, reminded by Walter Benjamin's view that the author is a producer – and, therefore, a different structure of associations have a suitable place in any analysis of a work. Bellow's political positions, his angles of vision of contemporary American reality inevitably guide his perceptions of a given cultural domain. How these political or social ramifications are refracted through the ideological creative process on to the final product of a work, need a specific emphasis to deconstruct the superstructure of explanation and, if possible, meaningfully posit the creative impulse in its proper atmosphere.

In order to get at the genesis of Bellow's critique of the generation of the sixties, one has to restructure some of his possible perceptions out of which such meditations, as in *Mr. Sammler's Planet,* take root. Even a cursory reading of the novel would give the impression that Bellow clearly has no sympathy with the radical politics, the New Left, avant-garde in art and theatre and other protest movements. The general history of the decade of the sixties has to underline the Civil Rights movement in the South, especially the outrageous acts of the KKK against the blacks, the Vietnam War, the racist segregation. The counter-culture made an imprint on its life. Joan Boaz refused to pay taxes because the money would be used in subjugating and defenseless people of Vietnam. Bob Dylan fervently thought that the "times they are a changing". He asked passionately : "How many years people exist before they are allowed to be free ?" The youth rebelled against the establishment because, they felt, it had no right to dignity when it did not recognize the dignity of other people. The sixties is the decade of the youth, the New Left, the Yippies, the Woodstock. If this is the case, what better way to subvert the sixties than by introducing a rhetoric which apparently suggests that the youngsters are not only irrationally rebellious but they are also ignorant, lacking in etiquette, and inadequately informed. Bellow obviously believed that the youth indulged in over-confidence, intolerance, ruthlessness and cruelty. Anarchistic imagination ruled art. The Living Theatre productions were hysterical. In other words, America became Sodom and Gomorrah, thanks to the New Left politics. To make matters worse, the New Left was also anti-Israel. Not for a moment, was Bellow willing to consider if these student movements had any positive element at all. He would never grant, for instance, that to live with the knowledge that their country was molesting another poor country, Vietnam, did not enthuse sensitive, value-oriented

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youngsters. What was more problematic was the fact that the philosophy of liberal education and humanities at the universities ill-equipped a generation, which, if any thing, needed authenticity, moral strength and integrity. Since these were not forth-coming, they had to take to the streets, make protest marches, to tell America that it "stinks". Even so, it would be naive and intellectually irresponsible to absolve their excesses but their concern for justice and a need for change in domestic and foreign policies cannot be underwritten.

Although Sammler is genuinely astonished at his encounters with the American scene, there appears to be an expectation on the part of the writer that Sammler personifies a certain European sobriety which is strangely not available in the New World. But to equate the Europe of the Great War and especially Germany and the America of the sixties is not only absurd but also ideological. Infact, the failure to see any genuine substraction in the New Left movement forces Bellow – probably it is self-willed – to view America with extreme skepticism and cynicism. It is precisely this ideology that spells doom for the novel. The novel itself may appear to be a survivor's view of America. But why only the America of the sixties distorted through intemperate ideology ? For instance,look at Sammler's personal history. He was an anglophile, working as a journalist in England for a Polish newspaper. His entire family perished in the holocaust. He himself, was shot though he somehow survived. Presently, he lives in New York City with his nephew's help. His nephew, Elya, wants him because Sammler provides certain spiritual order in his life. America with its shopping-mall culture and now, as Bellow would have it, student lawlessness is not the place where one can establish personal order. Sammler's meditations on the America of that time is frequently connotative of the tragedy of the Holocaust. One is, Sammler feels, for ever presented with themes and explanations but "being right is a matter of interpretation". 9 Sammler evokes Bellow's sense of reality as he perceives it. After all, it is the arrogant cerebration and solution-seeking arguments of the New Left that one needs to suspect. They believe that they have issues and, therefore, look for solutions. Predictably, the youngsters never make an impression on him. Thus, Lionel Feffer, who used to read for him, is a hustler, go-getter, philanderer, public relations personality, always looking for some kind of finder's fee, full of new ideas, comically plans to make it in materialist America. He also seduces a young lady, confuses old Sammler into accepting to give a talk at the problem-ridden Columbia University – supposedly for the benefit of children. He is to talk about the British scene of the thirties. By introducing the context of the thirties, Bellow cleverly attempts to debunk the New Left –as opposed to the Old Left of the thirties. In the forties and the fifties, most of these fervent communists of the Old Left became subdued apologetics or ex-communists proclaiming the God-that-failed message. In fact, strange as it may sound, the New Left disavowed itself from the Old Left. If we have to

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accept the deliberate misreadings of the New Left especially by people like Melvyn Lasky[10], most people of the radical movement are either poorly informed of Marxism or they simply did not think it important enough to make any theoretical change in their programme – if they have any. Sure enough, in his talk on the British Thirties, Sammler introduces George Orwell, who systematically subverts totalitarian – Communist ? regimes in his two important books *Animal Farm* [11] and *1984*[12]. He also quotes Orwell to say that the British radicals were patronized by the Royal families. This is a clever argument on Bellow's part aimed merely to scandalize the New Left. It also disregards whatever role the Old Left had played since most of them "disappeared" into various political positions. Of course, Sammler is not allowed to complete his talk. A bearded fellow interrupts him, insults him and, in a way, drives him out. Interestingly, in Mark Harris's book on Bellow – supposedly a biographical venture which came to almost nothing except sparing personal anecdotes – a similar incident is narrated which seems to have taken place in Bellow's personal life[13]. If this is true, Sammler is evidently Bellow's persona and by bringing the Old Left in the New Left context, Bellow seems to equate one with the other, atleast in their ultimate consequences. On his way home, Sammler encounters the black pick-pocket, this time to be harassed and forced to a corner where the blackman exposes himself. An orchestration of threat ? Certainly. But there is single youngster in this novel who has a word of approval from the author ? Elya's daughter, Angela, is absolutely with the time. Independent, she indulges in luxury with a huge stipend her father allots to her. For her, sex is a matter of routine, pure entertainment. The relationship with her boy friend, Horricker, does not go very far. Also, she does not seem to mind group sex.

Having learnt of this matter, Elya is disturbed. At a time when Angela should have shown a gesture of repentance to her dying father, she startles Sammler by coming to the hospital in tantalizing apparel. Her brother, Wallace, is not much of an encouragement to the concerned father of theirs. He is full of plans too. Always a beginner, he never succeeds in anything. He senses somehow that his father stashed away large sums of money he received as a favour from his mafia connections – which, after all, turns out to be true. This, too, shows the decadence of the time. Wallace wants to find the treasure so that he can use it for his innumerable projects.

The narrative, thus, becomes problematic, thoroughly confusing various themes, when the perceptions of the New Left are piled together with other insanities of the sixties, mostly the inherited horror and the legacy of the Holocaust. Contemporary America itself has problems of various kinds, especially, the unaccommodating contexts of the black man. There is an incident in the novel where the black gangsters do not seem to follow the boy's appeals for life. They do not share the same language any more. Bellow also

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introduces Walter Baruch, a survivor of the Holocaust, who has a fetish for large female hands. Rumkowski, the so-called Jewish Prince, who helped Nazis, in his fashion, is an unwilling participant in carrying out "the final solution". The scenario is very grim indeed.

What happens when the New Left views of Bellow are contextualized along with these commonly agreed responses to the American scene and the recent human massacre in the gas chambers ? The equation is clearly fallacious. It debunks whatever good there is in the New Left and its contribution to the American society. Bellow's understanding of the New Left is, without doubt, a deliberate exercise in ideology. He is known for his strong opinions. Once he is convinced that the radical youth is dangerous for whatever reasons, he quickly introduced his theory in the narrative. It gets submerged in the over-all critique of the Western decadence. Since other arguments are already well-accepted, the New Left disorder, if that, also is taken for granted. Thus, Bellow very cleverly generalizes – and surely benefits from such an act – and imposes his view with a subtle artistic sense in this novel. Noam Chomsky commenting on the period in a personal interview, has this to say : "In the nineteen sixties . . . there were a lot of popular organisations, lot of development among general population, began very much among the young people and spread to the various sections of the people. New questions were asked, there was a lot of dissidence, there was skepticism, activism, refugee political organisations and so on. All of that terrified elites; elites want the population to be passive, apathetic and weaning – they are expressive about it".[14] Elites, academicians and intellectuals single-mindedly supported the Vietnam war. It is the masses and the youth that protested against the war. In almost all these protest marches, intellectuals conveniently stayed aloof. It is in this context such works as the one under discussion should be analysed. America to-day, Chomsky believes, is more civilised than it used to be. Bellow's views on the novel changed as the time wore on. "It's my first thoroughly non-apologetic venture into ideas . . . here I am baring myself nakedly."[15] Five years later, he says that, "I think of *Mr. Sammler's Planet* as a sort of polemical theory" [16]. Afterwards, he would go to the extent of saying that it was a novel with no artistic control. Also, if one sees any point in Chomsky's argument, how is one to respond to Bellow's book ? More significantly, what is the status of an artistic product when it takes up themes such as these ? A part of the answer to these questions is also the problematic of the holistic discourses, the interpretive approaches which diligently take up various insights of a work of art and put them together in order to reach a general conclusion. While the general tenor of the novel, may be suggestive of this aspect, such categories some times can also underwrite the structure of ideology. These categories naively and, therefore, dangerously function as arbitrary justifications for lapses, misreadings, authoritative superimpositions in terms of social biases. Without doubt, such attempts would continue

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to again patronage from both the establishment and academia; more so now, since the liberal-left or other variations of left struggle to put their agenda honourably in the American context. Novels like this perpetuate and make legitimate these misconceptions in the guise of predictable generalized artistic arguments. Time and social situation is never more fertile to provide the breeding ground for such acts. There are attempts already to write off an entire generation of the sixties, no matter what its ambition was, by the people whose credentials are as circumstantial as they are suspect. But that would be yet another story.

NOTES

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11. George Orwell, *Animal Farm* (New York : Harcourt Brace, 1946).

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13. Nark Harris, *Saul Bellow : Drumlin Woodchuck* (Athens : The University of Georgia Press, 1980), see especially pp. 118-144.

14. Noam Chomsky. In a Personal Interview with the Author.

15. Jane Howard, "Mr. Bellow Considers His Planet", *Life* 68 (3 April 1970), p. 59.

16. Robert Boyers, "Literature and Culture : An Interview with Saul Bellow", *Salmagundi* 30 (Summer 1975), p. 22.

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NATURE IMAGERY IN SIEGFRIED SASSOON'S WAR POETRY

Dharmadas Banerjee

Siegfried Sassoon is universally acknowledged as a war poet and the critics say with one voice that the violence and horror of the first world war brings out the best in his creative self. They ignore his pre-war lyrical poems totally and pooh-pooh them as mere versifications. But a deep reading of these poems reveals that the feelings and emotions are not false, but genuinely poetic and his poetic language is simple and accurate. Predominantly he is a poet of nature. The charm and beauty of nature fascinates him. The theme of natural beauty is presented through the musical words and nature-imagery. Sassoon is a master-artist in creating pictorial images of nature. He truly follows C. Day Lewis's theory that "an image is a picture made out of words".[1] He goes on to draw the variegated pictures of nature in poems after poems like 'Nimrod in September,'Noah','Haunted', 'Night-piece','October', 'The Heritage', 'Dryads', 'Morning-land', 'Arcady Unheeding', 'At Daybreak', 'Dream-Forest', 'Morning-glory' and so on. The pictorial images of these poems are associated with an ideal, romantic world where there is no "weariness, the fever and the fret". (Keats's 'Ode to a Nightingale').

But the poet's romantic phase does not last long. He has to sacrifice his romance at the altar of war. His poetic mind passes on from the songs of innocence to the songs of experience; from the dreamy world to the world of reality. Now nature is not for nature's sake, but it is employed to interpret was – war with all its various aspects. The "Bellona's bridegroom" does not sap his feelings for nature but teaches him to visualize with a sophisticated eye. His love of nature is instinctive and it becomes deepened with time. He gets strength from the spirit of nature to endure the onslaught of the great war. The poet spurns war's destructiveness and invokes the spirit of nature : "O river of starts and shadows, lead me through the night". Indeed "Faith in an underlying harmony gives him strength to endure, so that the suffering can be embraced and even glorified as if it will furnish, not scorch, this faith."[2]

Sassoon's images are predominantly visual. The poet himself makes it clear in his lecture *on poetry* that he seeks to conceive of ideas in pictorial terms : "Thinking in pictures is my natural method of self-expression. I have always been a submissively visual writer".[3] The poet employs his visual imagery to express his heightened and intense poetic emotions and so he seeks

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to emphasize more on the eye or the inward eye than the ear or other sense – "the war is not enough. There is also the eye . . . the mind's eye, by which I mean the faculty of inward visualization".[4] The outward visualization of objects leads to the inward visualization and thus the imagery reaches the zenith of poetic perfection. The poet also advocates the "simplification of visual imagery"[5] which is essential to the best and powerful poetry.

Both Wilfred owen and Siegried Sassoon believe in Wordsworth's creed - 'Return to Nature'. Wordsworth's nature philosophy may easily be traced in Owen's 'Spring offensive' : "For though the summer oozed into their veins/like an injected drug for their bodies pains." Nature seems to be a healer or a physician who soothes all the pains of the soldiers. The same feeling is expressed by Sassoon through the sun image which is the symbol of life, light and warmth in 'In Barracks' :

The sun looks over the barrack gate
Warm and white with glaring shine,
To watch the soldiers of the line
That life has hired to fight with fate.

Wordsworth's concept of the bond of man and nature seems to be a dominant feature in both Owen and Sassoon. In both the poets, Nature symbolises life and vitality whereas War symbolises death. When Sassoon cannot stand the shock of the bloodshed of the war, he seeks to escape into the periphery of natural beauty :

Come down from heaven to meet me when my breath
Chokes, and through drumming shafts of stifling death
I stumble towards escape, to find the door
Opening on morn where I may breathe once more
Clear cock crow airs across some valley dim
With whispering trees. (Invocation)

The poet's love for natural beauty comes from the unplumbed depths of his soul. Nature provides him with rich imagery. His images are not mechanical but spontaneous. They come from his inward visualization of the beauties of nature. Before the battle of Somme which began on 1 July, 1916, he wrote 'Before the Battle'.

The horrendous pictures or the battlefield cannot efface his love for the music of nature. The poem opens with an appealing audio-visual image :

Music or whispering trees
Husbed by a brood-winged breeze
Where shaken water gleams ;
And evening radiance falling

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With ready bird-notes calling
O bear me safe through dark, your low-voiced streams.

Sassoon feels repulsion for 'Tawdry music', 'women dawdling', and the 'officers in cocktail bars'. He seeks pleasure in "garden nights/And elm trees nodding at the stars."

(when I'm among a Blaze of Lights)

A sharp contrast is drawn between the showy, artificial world of man and the simple, beautiful, spontaneous world of nature. the readers can easily visualize the nodding of the elm trees at the stars in a garden at night. This is the world of beauty whereas the world of 'women' and 'officers' is the world of filth and ugliness. The frequent transition from ugliness to beauty and viceversa is one of Sassoon's artistic methods in poetry. For the purpose of contrast he juxtaposes the beauty of nature and the ugliness of war. Nature helps the poet to triumph over the horrible death and destruction of war :

When life was a cobwel of stars for Beauty who came
In the whisper of leaves or a bird's lone cry in the gleam
On dawn-lit hills and horizons girdled with flame
I sought for the triumph that troubles the faces of men
(The Triumph)

Sassoon's feelings and emotions are always expressed in terms of nature imagery. In 'Break or Day' he portrays how the soldier gazes at the beauty of nature before starting 'the damned attack' :

And there's a wall or mist along the vale
Where willows shake their watery sounding leaves
He gazes on it all.

The poet makes use of various objects and scenes of nature in his war poetry such as the sun, rain, mud, clouds, flowers, stars, seasons, storm, morning, birds and so on. These objects of nature, employed by Sassoon form exquisite nature imagery. Such images do not merely serve the purpose of decoration but interpretation as well. They interpret the war in general and the horrible condition of the soldiers in particular.

The poet employs the sun image in various contexts of his war poetry. To the poet, the sun is the symbol of life and light in contrast to the war which stands for darkness and death. In 'France' he shows that the sun is the life-giving force and the cause of triumph for France :

She triumphs, in the vivid green
Where sun and quivering foliage meet;
And in each soldier's heart screne;
When death stood near them they have seen.

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The sun is the death-defying agent of nature and inspires the soldiers and puts them back to life again. In 'The Last Meeting' the sun appears as the object of beauty and life :

My heart is fooled with fancies, being wise;
For fancy is the gleaming of wet flowers
When the hid sun looks forth with golden stare
Trees, when I find new loveliness to praise.

The poet feels content to have a glimpse of the charming orange sunset in 'At Carnoy' :

Crouched among thistle-tufts I've watched the glow/of a blarred orange sunset flares and fade; And I'm content.

Sassoon draws a contrast between the untroubled past and the troubled present. The sun is red and sleepy and does not care a fig for the disturbance created by men. The sun is also the symbol of simple, unsophisticated life. The sun-image in 'Break of Day' is the true revelation of the simple, rustic life of the countryside England :

Now a red, sleepy sun above the rim
Of twilight stares along the quiet weald
And the kind, simple country shines revealed
In solitudes of peace, no longer dim.
The old horse lifts his face and thanks the light
Then stretches down his head to crop the green.

Nature makes life beautiful in its totality. Man creates an war-ridden world and destroys it. The poet raises his voice against this destruction. In 'Battalion – Relief' an image of the sunset has been exquisitely drawn by the poet :

And sunset flares across wet crops and tillage,
Blazing with splendour-patches. (Harvest soon,

Up in the Line.) This sun-images has an obvious undertone of the natural process of life and its growth.

The flowers are the source of inspiration, new life and exultation to the poet. Sassoon scorns "the growl and rumble of the fight" that saps the vitality of all the young soldiers. He believes that the elements of nature are powerful enough to lead him through the night. War is like a monster, the symbol of darkness and night. "The growl and sumble of the fight" summons him –

from cool
silence of marsh and pool

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And yellow lilies islanded in light.

(Before the Battle)

But the poet has the confidence that nature would bear him safe through this darkness of life.

In 'The Last Meeting' the poet draws a pictorial image of 'wet flowers' :

My heart is fooled with fancies, being wise,
For fancy is the gleaming of wet flowers.

The flower is the symbol of loveliness to the poet. He is enthralled by the joyful colours of roses :

I want to fill my gaze with blue and silver
Radiance through living roses, spires of green.

(To Victory)

This "radiance through living roses" stands in sharp contrast to "woeful crimson of men slain" which the poet deliberately seeks to avoid. This flower-image does not serve a mere decoration or romantic function. It rather heightens the gravity of the realism by drawing a sharp contrast to another side of the coin.

The flower-image also symbolises the glory of Heaven or the spiritual elevation. In 'In the Church of St. Ouen', the poet paints the heavenly beauty of the flowers :

My spirit longs for prayer;
And lost to God, I seek him everywhere.
Here, where the windows burn and bloom like flowers.
...
I could be half a saint, for like a rose
In heart-shaped stone the glory or Heaven glows.

Thus Sassoon shows that flowers are the eternal source of joy and consolation, the heavenly bliss and the imaginative escape from the war-torn world.

Sassoon expresses his front-line experiences through the images of rain, mud, storm, clouds, lightning and thunder. The picture of the soldiers in slime on a mid-winter night is placed beside the diametrically opposite scene of "peaceful folk in beds lay snug sleep." Even in the horrible condition of the soldiers, Sassoon perceives beauty in nature :

Darkness : the rain sluiced down; the mire was deep;
It was past twelve on a mid-winter night,

(The Redeemer)

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In 'The Distant Song', the rain-image appeals to our sensitive ears and eyes as well :

He listened to the tinkling drops of rain
On his steel helmet; then he thought of roofs,
And soldiers snug in billets, warm and clean.

The little drops of rain fall down on the soldier's steel helmet and a jingling sound is created. The rain is also falling down on the face of the dead soldiers and the poet discovers beauty in the universal ugliness in 'I stood with the Dead' :

On the shapes of the slain in their crumpled disgrace
I stared for a while through the thin cold rain . . .
"O lad that I loved, there is rain on your face,
And your eyes are blurred and sick like the plain".

Sassoon uses the imagery of storm, lightning and thunder to denote a great storm in the human world. In 'Repression of war Experience' the poet welcomes a thunder-storm in nature :

I wish there'd be a thunder-storm tonight,
With bucketsful of water to sluice the dark,
And make the roses hang their dripping heads.

The storm is accompanied with clouds, another elemental force of nature. The cloud-image is remarkable for the range of its associations and undertones. It symbolises the ghastliness of war, the pains and agonies of the soldiers and the flame of war that engulfs the total European civilization. A visual image of dark clouds, pinpointing all such horrible realities of war is drawn thus –

Dark clouds are smouldering into red
While down the craters morning burns.
The dying soldier shifts his head
To watch the glory that returns;
(How to Die)

The image of the shell-fire, "distant rattle of rifles and machines" has been juxtaposed to the image of rain, lightning and thunder in 'Battalion-Relief':

More rain: the lightning blinks, and thunder rumbles.
"There's overhead artillery," some chap grumbles.

Sassoon's nature imagery is the corollary of his intense and inward visualization of the real world. They cease to be mere abstractions of false emotions as in the case of the typical Georgian poets. Sassoon's images are bright and sparkling and they never fail to appeal the sensitive minds. An

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extremely pathetic pictorial image of the dead soldiers in the sucking mud occurs in 'Counter - Attack' :

And trunks, face downward, in the sucking mud,
Wallowed like trodden sand-bags loosely filled;
And naked sodden buttocks, mats of hair,
Bulged, clotted heads slept in the plastering slime.

Thus the poet presents the truth of the war through this concrete image.

The seasons – Summer, Autumn, Winter and Spring have special significance in his poetry. Summer stands for natural life and vitality. The poet's memory goes back to summer days only when he can look at "fresh face" :

He turned to me with his kind, sleepy gaze
And fresh face slowly brightening to the grin
That sets my memory back to summer days,
(A Subaltern)

He draws the image of spring as the symbol of life, growth and rejuvenation" :

Down by the splintered trees of Hidden wood,
Beyond the German line a blackbird sang,
And suddenly he was aware of spring–
(The Distant Song)

Standing in the 'ghastly ditch', the soldier becomes conscious of the appearance of spring, the symbol of life and "paradise" to him.

Autumn appears as the season of regeneration as in 'Break of Day' :

There seemed a small of autumn in the air,
At the bleak end of night; he shivered there
In a dark, musty dug-out where he lay,

he also draws the picture of Autumn as a season of storms where dead leaves are blown off from the trees :

October's bellowing anger breaks and cleaves
The bronzed battalions of the stricken wood
In whose lament I hear a voice that grieves
For battle's fruitless harvest, and the fued
Of outraged men. Their lives are like leaves
Scattered in flocks of ruin, tossed and blown
Among the westering furnace flaring red.
(Autumn)

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Nature raises its voice against "battle's fruitless harvest". The soldiers' lives are like autumn leaves. The poet feels pity for them.

The winter-image symbolises death and decay. Wilfred Owen calls the outbreak of the war as "the winter of the world" in 'The Seed' (1914). Sassoon also considers winter in the same line. He draws a contrast between winter and spring thus :

He's come back, all mirth and glory,
Like the prince in fairy story.
Winter called him far away;
Blossoms bring him home with May.
(A Letter Home)

It seems that Nature and Sassoon walk hand in hand. Even in his trench life, he cannot but enjoy the beauty of a fine morning as he records in his *Diary 1915-1918* on 3rd January, 1916 : "This morning we marched out at 8.30 along the Riencourt Road to Cavillon and Picquigny – delightful names – with the early sun touching those hills across the Somme Valley . . . . The men trudging behind chattered their war jargons, but I was back in an English day, walking alone on the hills with the mystery of my joy strong in me. O the beauty, the glory of what I saw, and see everyday so easily lost, so precious to the blind and the weary; so heavenly to men doomed to die . . . . "[6]

In 'Memory', the poet recalls his "untroubled past" when he could enjoy the beauty of the morning and other natural objects :

When I was young my heart and head were light
And I was gay and feckless as a cold
Out in the fields, with morning in the May,

The imagery of dawn not only symbolises pure delight but it appears as an omen of death and suffering as we find in 'The Rear Guard' :

Alone he staggered on until he found
Dawn's ghost that filtered down a shafted stair.
To the dazed, muttering creatures underground
Who hear the boom of shells in muffled sound.

The same ghastly image of dawn, symbolising the ghastliness of war occurs in 'wirers' :

Ghastly dawn with vaporous coasts
Gleams desolate along the sky, night's misery ended.

The theme of the horrible war calls for this unnatural and striking image of dawn. This clear wedding of form and content is one of Sassoon's remarkable artistic achievement.

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The imagery of birds in his war poetry has deep-rooted implications. In 'Thrushes', the thrushes not merely "soar and skim" but they "sing/scornful of man." They raise protest through their "tempest baffled wing" against man's war-torn world :

They clutch their leafy pinnacles and sing
Scornful of man, and from his toils aloof
Whose heart's a haunted woodland whispering
Whose thoughts return on tempest-baffled wing;

The bird is also the symbol of gaiety in his poetry.

"After months and months of a dog's life and no leave,"[7] soldiers sometimes resorted to thinking the beauties of nature as a way of escape from the drudgery in the dug-outs. In 'In the pink' the poet says :

But he couldn't sleep that night; stiff in the dark
He groaned and thought of Sundays at the farm,
And how he'd go as cheerful as a lark
In his best suit, to wonder arm in arm.

The poet draws a simile between an aviator's device of loopping the aircraft and thebird's preying in 'Editorial Impressions', and a beautiful image is created :

I watched one daring beggar looping loops,
Soaring and diving like some birds of prey.

This visual image has an undertone of beastly, unheroic and filthy war. Another picture or prisoned birds and their release in 'Everyone Sang' signifies the human bondage and liberation.

Everyone suddenly burst out signing;
And I was filed with such delight
As prisoned birds must find in freedom
Winging wildly across the white
Orchards and dark-green fields; on-on-and out
of sight.

It is the expression of freedom after the Armistice – a freedom from the bonds of war. It also signifies a social liberation as the poet himself says that "the singing that would 'never be done' was the social revolution which I believed to be at hand."[8]

Sassoon is a realist – realist both in portraying war and nature. It does not mean that he lacks imagination. He has the poetic imagination enough to depict the horrors of war and the natural beauty as well. Nature gives him

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relief amidst the pains and horrors of war; "Where men are crushed like clods, and crawl to find/some crater for their wretchedness."

(Break of Day)

Little objects of nature appease his agitated mind. The poet seeks to have a glance at the white hawthorn three or he yearns to breathe once more "clear cock-crow airs across some valley dim" (Invocation).

When the shells fly overhead in the blue air, he passionately looks how "a lark sings high up, and a little weasel comes and runs past me within a foot of my outstretched feet . . . [9] Because of his innate love of nature and beauty, he has been able to control his indignation and interpret the horrors of war through beautiful nature -imagery. It is certainly his artistic talent that he is not totally swayed away by the blood game of war. He can detach himself aesthetically from the scene and define it through excellent nature-imagery. Here lies the originality and poetic intensity of Sassoon's war poems.

NOTES

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SECTION-II
Education

Urmila Sharma Tewari	The Philosophical Perspective of J. Krishnamurti.
Batani Devi	Correlational Analysis on Different Behaviour Problems and Biological, Social, Personal-Historic Factors, and Intra-Personal Relations within the Family.

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THE PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVE OF J. KRISHNAMURTI

Urmila Sharma Tewari

Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895-1986) was an eminent philosopher, educationist and a mystic. Born at Madenapalle, a small town in Andhra Pradesh, in a Telegu Hindu Brahmin family, he was brought up by Anne Besant, the President of Theosophical Society under the guidance of Leadbeater, another Theosophist who felt the luminous aura of J. Krishnamurti.

However, on growing up J. Krishnamurti felt the organisation and its hierarchical order as an impediment in the path of truth. So he gave up the vast properties he had received and snapped all links with Theosophical society. Since then he accepted no followers and gave public discourses, discussions and interviews in India, Europe, England and U.S.A. Four Krishnamurti Foundations were set mainly for disseminating his teachings through books, audio and video tapes and journals. The organisations also run schools set by J. Krishnamurti in India, England, U.S.A. and Canada.

J. Krishnamurti was a philosopher and a seer who did not belong to any philosophical 'ism'. He did not have any philosophy as such to propagate for he firmly felt that in observing life you cannot arrive at any conclusion, as life is like an ever-flowing stream. To ground yourself in a conclusion means to be conditioned by an idea. Once you are conditioned by an idea or attitude then you isolate yourself from the ever self-renewing stream of life. Then you are like a stagnant pool and you start degenerating, for then you are no more in touch with reality, with 'what is', 'which is ever new'.

Krishnaji says that 'Truth' cannot be captured and written down for eternity. He does not offer any philosophy as such which may in course of time crystallise into a dogma or a system of thought. In fact he insists that it is thought that comes in the way of the direct perception of truth and only when though realises its limits, it stops functioning and in the absence of thought we perceive the 'Truth'.

His approach to life is not 'theoretical' but 'practical'. He feels that an ideal is essentially an idea, whatever label of a Utopia, God or liberation it has, the ideal is a projection of the mind, of the known, and thus even if it is achieved it cannot be 'Truth'. It cannot free the mind of 'itself' because the

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ideal is itself in'conformity' of the mind and is part of its conditioning. It will perpetuate limitation and one will never be able to 'transcend the mind'.

It is only through 'choiceless awareness' of 'what is', that there comes into being the silence of the mind, and when the mind ceases to exist, the 'awakening of intelligence' takes place in which the duality of the thinker and thought is transcended and 'Truth' is perceived.

Krishnamurti does not seek to expound a theory, formulate a concept or prove a 'thesis'. He is not indulging in abstractions and propaganda but is trying to awaken in his listener or reader, his 'sleeping psyche', to see life in its 'totality' with an unconditioned mind.

For this one has to strip one's self of all his conditioning, canons, creeds, systems, formulas and to live under the naked sky of truth and love.

He points out that life for him is more important than any beliefs or dogmas and in order to allow life its full fruition one must liberate it from beliefs, authority and tradition.

It is the very simplicity of Krishnamurti's teachings that confuse the over sophisticated minds,

Claude Bragton has rightly remarked,

> "Although advertised as a messenger of peace and goodwill, he appeared at moments like a dark evening angel and what he preached had so much in common with anarchism and nihilism as to cause one to wonder if he would escape some modern equivalent of the stake or the rock .... Those who look to Krishnamurti for a new religion or a new philosophy are bound to be disappointed. He does not offer something more, but something less. He is a subtractor of everything that stands between man and his maker, which is man himself – which is life itself".[1]

In order to grasp what Krishnaji has to say which is the expression of his experimental discovery, we will not be able to catch the sense of novelty if we stay grounded in our religious concepts and ideologies. So only by the total destruction of one's inner ancient order and with an unconditioned, fresh, young and vulnerable mind one will be able to respond to this new breath of eternal spirit.

J. Krishnamurti accepted his role as the world-teacher but he did so with a difference and for that matter a fundamental one. He did not accept the platform offered to him by the Theosophical society for that demanded conformity, committing to a certain cult and required a certain compromise between the truth and untruth which Krishnaji firmly declined. He insisted that Truth cannot be brought down, as you cannot bring the mountain top to the valley.

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Having united himself, with his 'Beloved' which is 'life-unbound and limitless', he decided to set man free from his self imposed limitations for he realised that every human being was struggling towards the same goal thus his teachings are a natural outcome of his perception and his compassion for humanity.

Here his ideology refers to his philosophy as contained in his books and his talks. J. Krishnamurti himself, however, repudiated the role of a philosopher or representative 'of any system of conceptual thinking or ideology'. He points out the futility of any philosophy or ideology as he feels that all ideologies are idiotic, whether religious or political, for it is conceptual thinking which has divided man. J. Krishnamurti has no philosophy to propound for he says that philosophy is something dead whereas 'Truth' is something living and unlimited and cannot be limited or bound into a statement.

Krishnamurti is not a teacher in the conventional sense who indoctrinates his followers but he is a teacher who wants to awaken the sleeping psyche of man so that he can see things as they are with choiceless awareness, of 'what is', which alone can bring about, the 'awakening of intelligence'.

K's (J. Krishnamurti called himself 'K') definition of his own role is his complete disavowal of authority. An individual usually turns to external authorities, 'a guru', an ideal', 'a religious book', 'a God' of revelation of the truth but J. Krishnamurti insists that 'authority' in any form breeds fear, repulsion, antagonism. He points out to his audience that to be 'a light to themselves' they must be free of all traditions and authority, including that of himself so that their minds can look, observe and learn.

When Krishnamurti was once asked why he gave his talks if he believed that no one could help anyone to understand life, he replied,

> "Understanding is a purely individual matter. I do not believe in reforming others. What I am doing is merely pointing out the barriers, the hindrances to understanding and it is for the individuals to remove them by becoming conscious of them fully. What you understand by my talks, that understanding is your own, not mine".[2]

Krishnamurti did not ask people to follow or accept his teachings, but to understand, to come to him with a mind that is choiceless and not bound by the idea of consistency or conditioned by any ideology.

Addressing a public gathering he once said, "I can only be a sign post for you. You must have the strength of your own desire to attain . . . . It must be the result of your own experience, for by that alone you will attain".[3]

He refuses to be a Guru and have devotees praying around him. He pointed out his role as one, just holding the mirror to the individual in which

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he could see himself, without distortion, in order to learn what he actually is. Then after the process of self discovery the mirror can be thrown away as it will be of no use. An attachment to the mirror is a form of bondage and only the act of perception is of fundamental importance.

He emphatically points out that it is impossible to grasp life in its totality. Our mind is unidimentional and moves in a linear direction, whereas life is a multidimensional splendour. It cannot be put down in a form of dogma or ideology and the moment you give a conclusion it is nothing more than a dead and dried up formula. Then it is no more applicable to life, for life is a continuous self-renewing process. So one cannot give conclusions about something that never comes to a conclusion. It is evernew. The only way to know it is to be totally with life, living it moment to moment with total awareness and without ever giving conclusions for then that will be a matter of past and one will miss the life of this present moment.

Though he has no dogmas to propagate still the essential theme of his teachings can be summed up as 'Truth, reality or life is unconditioned, timeless and infinite and with a conditioned mind we cannot grasp it. So first uncondition the mind of all that it has learnt in the past, one's education, tradition and culture etc. He says that in order to understand your mind you must study it with total awareness from moment to moment, then in the process of learning itself, you will realise that there is 'no self' only an accumulation of thoughts collected in time in the form of memory and with the cessation of 'thought' comes the cessation of 'mind' and then the duality of 'self' and 'not self' disappears and you are one with the cosmos.

When you understand 'what is' with a choiceless awareness internally and externally, then the process of becoming or what 'should be', comes to an end and you are free from the self and its beliefs, ideologies and authority which were preventing this 'clear insight' 'this attention without a centre'. This total abandonment of the 'me' or 'self' or 'ego' without any special purpose, calculation or motive, brings in compassion for the first time in life. This compassion is unlimited and overflowing in which there is 'creativity'. This compassion or love is not attachment. Attachment grows out of one's own shallowness, insufficiency and loneliness, for attachment gives a sense of belonging and security. Love is not attachment, pleasure, security etc. In the denial of what love is not, love is.

To be absolutely 'nothing' is to be beyond measure. This measure is thought and thought by its nature is fragmentary and this occupies the whole space of our consciousness. Only when you throw out the thought, the known, this vast measureless space is seen. So meditation is the emptying of the consciousness of its contents, the known. To be alone without a word or thought but only watching and listening, then the observer is the observed. In

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this quiet stillness of mind, that which is ever lasting beauty comes uninvited, unsought, without a noise of recognition.

Time has brought consciousness with its contents. Without it, consciousness is not, then there is nothing. Thought cannot hold this moment for this moment is not time. There is no moment at this moment and so it is not related to another moment. Time has stopped at this moment. This moment is the ending of time. It has no cause, so no beginning or ending. In this moment of nothingness everything is. Meditation is emptying the consciousness of its contents. Then in this vast measureless space, the 'inward flowering' of man takes place. Such is the 'mutation of mind' which Krishnaji wants the world to experience, for in it alone is there the hope for humanity. Otherwise this fragmentation of mind with its domination of 'self interest' will ruin this beautiful earth and life on this planet.

J. Krishnamurti says that we cannot bring a change in this world and society from outside. For this first we will have to bring a change in the 'inside' of man through 'self realisation', because when man will realise the essential oneness of the whole of the cosmos, only then he will become selfless and will automatically be one with humanity. When the 'self' or 'ego' is not, the 'whole is.'

Critical Appraisal of J. Krishnamurti's Philosophy

J. Krishnamurti gave talks all over the world for almost sixty years but how far had he been successful in his mission is a very controversial issue.

It is not easy to find out how deep is the impact on his listeners (of his talks and audio and video tapes) and readers. After his talks, many times a question-answer session was organised and from the questions the audience asked him, it seemed to the investigator that they were left more confused than before the lecture. Perhaps the main idea behind his talks was to ruffle the audience and pull them out of their slumber and comfortable security in traditional ideas. To give them a shake as is done in Zen Buddhism so that the individual reviews the whole life and self, all over again without conditioning, without traditional ideologies, and without inner and outer security.

It certainly needs a great courage to face your own self without the least covering, absolutely naked and bereft of thousand years of conditioning. He snatches away every thing from us, unlike the routine messiahs who fill our mind and being with soothing words of continuity of life in heaven and with the benevolent God looking after us all like a father.

Most people find him shocking and very cruel for he gives insecurity instead of 'security' but is he not like a doctor that operates upon our malady to free us of our disease ? Though apparently the doctor looks like a butcher but is he not doing it to bring about the healing of the body ?

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Luis S. R. Vas also asks the same question, "How is one to judge, success and failure in Krishnamurti's case ? If he were a preacher, he could be judged by the number of converts. But he is not. He has said so many times that agreeing or disagreeing with him is irrelevant but understanding him is of essence. So do we judge him by the number of people who understand him ? (if so) how do I know that someone has comprehended Krishnamurti ? Is there an objective test ? More important how do I know that even I understand what Krishnamurti is saying ? Is there atleast a subjective test ?'[4]

One suddenly realises then that it is not a matter of judging Krishnamurti. For Krishnamurti never pretends to make us understand him. He merely hopes to provoke us into understanding ourselves, into seeing through ourselves. So there is no question of judging ourselves either. An approach like Krishnamurti's may thus open an entirely new vista as to what it means for people to be organised for the sake of psychological freedom from the self.

Krishnamurti might not appeal to some temperaments for the activists may discard his teachings as mystical nonsense and on the other hand the traditionalists may not find it 'sufficiently positive'. To this Krishnaji replied that one does not need to search for the positive. It is always there, though hidden beneath the huge pile of old experiences. Eliminate all of them and truth or what you call 'the positive' will be there. It comes up automatically. One cannot help it.

Can this awareness be transmitted ? John Needleman writes, "something in (Krishnamurti's) speech, his presence, his line of thought call it what one will, helps the act of self observation."[5] So in this sense, Krishnaji can be called a 'teacher'. Krishnamurti maintained that he had found the Truth, but since Truth cannot be reduced to an intellectual formula for it is something living, and since it is living and conscious, it cannot be known objectively for he said that you can only know what is over but 'truth', which is living, is creative and self renewing from moment to moment, cannot be known. This again reminds us of the words of Socrates, "I only know that I know nothing".

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CORRELATIONAL ANALYSIS ON DIFFERENT BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS AND BIOLOGICAL, SOCIAL,PERSONAL-HISTORIC FACTORS, AND INTRA-PERSONAL RELATIONS WITHIN THE FAMILY

Batani Devi

In India, the majority of child population lives in rural, tribal and urban slum areas. Children living in these slum areas do not get proper guidance and healthy atmosphere at home. Due to unhealthy and unhygienic atmosphere at home, many children become victims of various behaviour problems such as sleeping difficulties (SD), eating difficulties (ED), other difficult habits (ODH), sense of self adequacy– inadequacy (SAIA), aggressive behaviour (AB), unsocial behaviour (UB), noncompliant behaviour (NCB), and some specific behaviour difficulties, delinquent related (SSBD). The causes of behaviour problems are complex and interrelated. Behaviour determinants are generally known as biological, social, personal-historic factors and intra-personal relations within the family. A very few studies have been conducted in the past to find out the correlational analysis of different behaviour problems and various factors affecting them (Griffiths, 1952; Murlidharan, 1961; Macfarlane, 1962). In the present study an attempt has been made to find out the relatedness of different behaviour problems found in pre-school children and biological, social, personal historic factors, and intra-personal relations within the family that affect the behaviour of the individual.

Hypotheses : The following research hypotheses were formulated and tested in the present study :

1. Biological, social, personal-historic factors, and intra-personal relations within the family are related to different behaviour problems.

2. Different behaviour problems are interrelated.

Method: Normative survey method was used in conducting the present study.

Sample : A sample of 243 pre-school children with age range of 3 to 6 years coming to anganwadi centres (AWs) in Chandigarh was selected. Two-staged randomized sampling technique was used. Out of total 200 AWs in Chandigarh, 30 AWs were randomly selected for the purpose of data

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collection. During the second stage, 10 children from each of 30 AWs were randomly selected. Out of 300 preschool children, 53 children were not found eligible. Hence, only 243 pre-school children were included in the study.

Description of the Tool : Behaviour Problems Inventory by Murlidharan (1961) was used to record data with regard to biological, social, personal-historic factors, intra-personal relations within the family and to identify different behaviour problems found in pre-school children. The test consisted of 130 items which were classified into eight different categories such as SD, ED, ODH, SAIA, AB, UB, NCB and SSBD. A personal data sheet intended to provide information with reference to background of the child was also a part of the inventory. It elicited information about the biological, social, personal-historic factors and intra-personal relations within the family.

Statistical Analysis : To verify the hypotheses mentioned above, the data were analysed with the help of statistical technique of Pearsonian bivariate (product-moment) correlation between different behaviour problems and factors affecting them. In those instances where variable was classified into two distinct categories such as male-female, easy-difficult, mature-premature, father-mother etc. point biserial ($r_{p\,bis}$) was computed.

RESULTS

In values of coefficient of correlation (Pearson r) between different behaviour difficulties and various factors affecting them have been entered in Table 1. The values of biserial correlation ($r_{p\,bis}$) between different behaviour problems and factors affecting them have been presented in Table 2. Intercorrelation matrix of different behaviour problems has been given in Table 3.

Entries in Table 1 show that sleeping difficulties, eating difficulties, other difficult habits, sense of self adequacy-inadequacy, aggressive behaviour and non-compliant behaviour problems were found to be positively and significantly correlated with age of child, father's present age, father's age at marriage, mother's age at marriage, age difference from the younger child, age when stopped bottle feeding, walking and talking. However, negative but significant correlations were observed between the above mentioned behaviour problems and mother's age at child birth. Significant negative results were also found between aggressive behaviour, noncompliant behaviour and age when the child stopped bed wetting at night. Statistically significant positive correlations were found between delinquent related behaviour and number of sisters. Negative but significant correlation was observed between delinquent related behaviour and age when child stopped breast feeding.

Table 2 indicates that sex was positively correlated with eating difficulties, and aggressive behaviour. However, it was found negatively correlated with

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Table 1

Product moment correlations of different behaviour problems and some of biological , social, and personal–historic factors

Variables	SD	ED	ODH	SAIA	AR	UR	NCR	SSRD
Age of child	.7000*	.3629**	.8028**	.3852**	.4014**	–.0710	.6049**	–.0281
Father's age (FA)	.2100**	.1873**	.2382**	.1503*	.1408*	.1115	.1945**	.1098
Income	–.0916	.0027	–.1249	.0692	.0410	.1762**	–.0924	.0830
Father's education (FE)	.0666	.0510	–.0173	.0442	.0774	–.0662	.0022	.0827
Mother's Age (MA)	.1309*	.1463*	.1516*	.0842	.1162	.0216	.1076	.0918
Mother's education (ME)	.0379	.0020	.0431	.0715	.0435	.0147	.0467	.0280
FA at marriage	.3988**	.2788**	.5183**	.3210**	.2434**	.1159	.4075**	.0996
MA at marriage	.4365**	.2600**	.5762**	.2975**	.2940**	.0087	.4354**	.0348
FA at child birth	.0810	.0237	–.1044	–.0191	–.0442	.1738**	–.0922	.1062
MA at child birth	–.1827**	–.0283	–.2095**	–.1433*	–.0586	.0529	–.1765**	.0821
Order of birth	–.0175	–.0232	–.0246	.0089	–.0622	.1492*	–.0362	.0635
No. of brothers	–.0540	–.1100	–.0792	–.1319*	–.0197	.0960	–.0309	–.0191
No. of sisters	.1101	.0977	.0307	.1402*	–.0409	.0804	.0264	.2020**
Age difference from the elder child	.0580	.0761	–.0692	–.0269	–.0341	–.0221	–.0556	.0572
Age difference from the younger child	.6893**	.3496**	.7393**	.3920**	.3863**	–.0534	.5829**	.0197
Age when stopped breast feeding	–.1097	.0325	–.1168	–.0816	.0411	–.1500**	–.0130	–.0135
Age when stopped bottle feeding	.3008**	.0748	.3703**	.1555*	.1491*	.0592	.2478**	–.1332*
Age when started walking	.1147	.1670**	.0734	–.0032	.1346*	–.0282	.1547*	.0049
Age when started talking	.3041**	.0720	.3714**	.1424*	.1501*	–.0989	.2821**	.1111
Age when stopped urinating in clothes day time	–.0149	–.0021	–.1409*	–.0800	–.0454	–.0382	–.0430	.0594
Age when stopped bed wetting at night	–.0502	–.0043	–.1868**	–.1031	–.1310	–.0559	–.2064**	.1176

N.B. * P < .05
** P < .01

SD – Sleeping difficulties
ED – Eating difficulties
ODH – Other difficult habits
SAIA – Sense of self adequacy – imagery
AB – Aggressive behaviour
UB – Unsocial behaviour
NCB – Non compliant behaviour
SS BD – Some specific behviour difficulties

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Table 2

Biserial correlations (r_{pbis}) between different behaviour difficulties and some of the biological, personal-historic factors, and intra-personal relations within the family

Variables	SD	ED	ODH	SAIA	AB	UB	NCB	SSBD
Sex	.055	.238**	.091	−.175**	.178**	−.144*	−.014	−.061
Pre-mature birth	.015	.195**	.236**	.180**	.143*	−.251**	−.031	.047
Type of delivery	−.126*	−.002	−.027	−.057	−.098	−.131*	−.078	−.033
Management of child	.088	−.075	−.061	−.211**	.829**	.061	.621**	.410**
Parental preferences	−.051	−.007	.179**	−.022	.175**	−.054	.255**	.188**

* P < .05 level

** P < .01 level

Table 3

Intercorrelation matrix of different behaviour problems

Variables	SD	ED	ODH	SAIA	AB	UB	NCB	SSBD
SD	1.000							
ED	.4936**	1.000						
ODH	.6503**	.3589**	1.000					
SAIA	.3186**	.1285*	.4006**	1.000				
AB	.2608**	.1613*	.3236**	−.0406	1.000			
UB	−.1485*	−.1503*	.0593	.1642*	−.0810	1.000		
NCB	.4892**	.2223**	.6152**	.2077**	.6146**	.0366	1.000	
SSBD	.0938	.1088	.0916	.1385*	.4031**	−.0332	.3822**	1.000

*P < .05 level

**P < .01 level

sense of self-adequacy-in-adequacy, and unsocial behaviour. Premature birth was found to be positively and significantly correlated with eating difficulties, other difficult habits, sense of self adequacy-inadequacy, and aggressive behaviour and it was negatively correlated with unsocial behaviour. Negative but significant correlations were found between type of delivery and sleeping difficulties and unsocial behaviour. Management of the child was positively correlated with aggressive behaviour, non-compliant behaviour and delinquent related behaviour and was found negatively correlated with sense of self-adequacy-inadequacy. Parental preference of the child was found positively and significantly correlated with other difficult habits, aggressive behaviour, non-compliant behaviour, and delinquent related behaviour.

Entries in Table 3 show that sleeping difficulties were positively correlated with eating difficulties, difficult habits, sense of self-adequacy-inadequacy, aggressive behaviour, and non-compliant behaviour and were

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negatively correlated with unsocial behaviour. Eating difficulties were positively correlated with difficult habits, sense of self adequacy-inadequacy, aggressive behaviour and non comliant behaviour and were found negatively correlated with unsocial behaviour. Difficult habits were positively correlated with sense of self-adequacy-in-adequacy, aggressive behaviour and non-compliant behaviour. Sense of self-adequacy-inadequacy, aggressive behaviour and non-compliant behaviour. Sense of self-adequacy-inadequacy was found positively correlated with unsocial behaviour, noncompliant behaviour and delinquent related behaviour. Positive correlations were also observed between aggressive behaviour and noncompliant behaviour, and delinquent related behaviour. Non compliant behaviour was positively and significantly correlated with delinquent related behaviour.

Discussion Of Results

Hypothesis I :

The First hypothesis has been tested with the help of results entered in Table 1 and Table 2. It can be inferred from the Table 1 that different behaviour problems barring unsocial behaviour and delinquent related behaviour are significantly correlated with the children with age range of 3 to 6 years. This indicates that during pre-school years these behaviour problems are found in almost every child. These results partially confirm the findings of Macfarlane et al. (1962) and Murlidharan (1961).

Sex differentials are noted (Table 2) with regard to eating difficulties, sense of self adequacy- inadequacy, aggressive behaviour and unsocial behaviour. These results indicate that eating difficulties and aggressive behaviour are more common in boys. In contrast, sense of self-adequacy–inadequacy and unsocial behaviour are found more in girls as compared to boys. However, no sex differentials are noticed with regard to the rest of behaviour problems. These findings partially support the findings of Griffiths (1952), and Murlidharan (1961). Thus, the first part of hypothesis I, namely, biological factors, such as age and sex are related to behaviour problems is partially accepted.

Results presented in Table 2 indicate that social factors such as parental income, parents age at the time of marriage and child birth and age difference from the younger child. Low income of parents is related to unsocial behaviour. Age of parents at the time of marriage is related to almost all behaviour difficulties. Children whose parent married late have more behaviour difficulties than those whose parents married early. Further, children who have lesser age difference between their younger siblings have greater behaviour difficulties. These findings go parallel with the findings of Murlidharan (1961). Thus, second part of hypothesis I, namely, behaviour problems are related to social factors stands partially confirmed.

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Results presented in Table 1 and 2 indicate that personal-historic factors such as premature birth, type of delivery, and order of birth affect the behaviour of the children. Children who are born premature have higher eating difficulties, difficult habits, sense of self adequacy-inadequacy and aggressive behaviour. Children who have delayed and difficult births have greater sleeping and social difficulties. Likewise, first borns have more social difficulties than the second or last borns. This trend is not, however, found with regard to other behaviour difficulties. These findings confirm the findings of Blum (1953), and Murlidharan (1961). Thus, third part of hypothesis I is verified in a limited way in the sense that the type of delivery and order of birth are not correlated positively and significantly with other behaviour problems.

Intra-personal relations within the family such as management of the child and parental preferences also affect the behaviour of the child. Children who are difficult to manage have higher aggressive, non-compliant, and delinquent related behaviour than those who are easily managed. Again, children with paternal preferences have greater difficult habits, aggressive, noncompliant and delinquent related behaviour than those with maternal preferences. Thus, fourth part of hypothesis I stands verified to greater extent.

On the basis of the above discussion of results, it can be concluded that biological factors such as age and sex; social factors such as parental income, educational level of parents, parents age at the time of marriage and child birth, age difference from the younger sibling; personal-historic factors such as premature birth, type of delivery, and order of birth; and intra-personal relations within the family such as child management, and parental preferences partially affect the behaviour of the child. In other words, these factors are partially related to different behaviour problems. Thus, hypothesis I has ben partially confirmed.

Hypothesis II

Results given in Table 3 make it clear that sleeping difficulties are positively and significantly related to all other behaviour problems than unsocial behaviour and delinquent related behaviour. Sleeping difficulties are negatively correlated with unsocial behaviour. These results suggest that the greater the number of eating difficulties, difficult habits, sense of self adequacy-inadequacy, aggressive behaviour, and noncompliant behaviour, the smaller are the social difficulties. Sleeping difficulties are also significantly and positively related to other behaviour problems besides unsocial behaviour. Positive relationship is noticed between difficult habits and other behaviour problems barring unsocial and delinquent related behaviour. These results indicate the behaviour problems which have positive correla-

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tions exist together i.e. existence of one behaviour problem warrants the presence of the other with which it has positive correlation.

Entries in Table 3 further indicate that aggressive behaviour co-exists with all other behaviour problems barring sense of self adequacy-inadequacy and unsocial behviour. Negative correlations with sense of self adequacy in adequacy and unsocial behaviour indicate that aggressive behaviour will not be found in those children who have these two behaviour problems. These results suggest that the more aggressive the child is, the more of sleeping difficulties, eating difficulties, difficult habits, noncompliant and delinquent related behaviour and lesser sense of self-adequacy inadequacy and unsocial behaviour he will have.

It can be concluded from the above discussion that most of the behaviour problems are closely related to each other that is to say that occurrence of one behaviour problem indicates the simultaneous occurrence of the other behaviour problem too. Thus, the second hypothesis, namely, different behaviour problems are interrelated, stands verified to a great extent.

In sum, biological, social, personal-historic factors and intra-personal relations are related to various behaviour problems. And almost all these behaviour problems are related to each other significantly. This interrelatedness between different behaviour problems suggests that intervention provided to reduce one behaviour problem will reduce other behaviour problems as a side effect. Hence, it is suggested to conduct an empirical study to verify that reduction on one behaviour will lead to reduction in other related behaviour problems too.

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SOME MORE IMAGES OF TAPASVINĪ PĀRVATĪ FROM HARYANA

Devendra Handa

PĀRVATĪ[1], the daughter of the great snow-clad mountain Himavān and Menā, occupies an important place in the galaxy of female divinities described in literature and *śilpa* texts and represented in art. Symbolizing primordial power, she is the source of various Śaktis 'energies'[2] and is known by multiple names such as Umā, Aparṇā, Gaurī etc. In order to obtain Śiva, who was absorbed in meditation, as her spouse she prepared to undertake penance. Seeing her tender age, Menā discouraged her to do so by the words 'Umā' 'Oh, No'. She thus came to be known as Umā.[3] During her austerities, she discarded even the fallen leaves of trees and plants for subsistence and became Aparṇā, i. e., one (living) without leaves.[4] The austerity of penance continued and ultimately she observed *pañchāgnitapas* placing herself in the middle of the four fires with sun as the fifth source of heat. It is this incidence which has popularly been depicted in sculptures from the Kushāṇa period onwards[5] in different parts of India. As yet no such image belonging to the Gupta period is known but copious literary references, the depiction of *pañchatapas* Pārvatī in the sixth century Cave No. 1 at Badami[6] and Cave No. 21 at Ellora datable to *circa* 600 A.D.[7] indicate the continuity of the tradition. Four-armed Pārvatī holding *varada* 'boon giving pose', rosary, *kuśa* 'grass' and waterflask in her hands, with lion and deer at the feet from Muṇḍeśvarī (Bihar) assignable to seventh century A.D.[8] is another important early image. In the Pratihāra period, the popularity of this form seems to have increased much and a large number of images of *tapasvinī* Pārvatī have been found from Uttara Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan.[9] Images datable to the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. are very simple in nature and direct in appeal. They show the goddess as seated or standing amidst four fires flanked by lion and deer near her feet.[10] During the following two centuries the goddess is invariably depicted as standing on a *godhā* 'alligator' accompanied by a number of attendants. These images are lavishly ornamented.[11] Madhya Pradesh, Uttara Pradesh and Rajasthan remained the nucleus zone of *pañcha-tapas* Pārvatī images and quadrumanous form was the most popular, rather the invariable type. The popularity of this form, however, seems to have waned considerably after the eleventh-twelfth centuries.

Some time back, we had published three images of Pārvatī performing the penance from Pinjore, Morni and Gujar Kheri in Haryana.[12] Three more

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images of the goddess have come to our notice subsequently and are published here.

A rectangular slab with a tenon above, depicting Pārvatī standing in contraposto (Fig. 1) is preserved in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Panjab University, Chandigarh. It was obtained from Morni in the mid-sixties.[13] The figure is very much worn out and badly mutilated. The features of the face and the breasts are lost. The undergarment, reaching the ankles, the attenuated waist and the broad hips, however, clearly indicate that the figure is that of a female. She seems to have had a *dhammilla* coiffure with locks falling on the shoulders. The quadrumanous goddess holds a Śiva-liṅga placed on the top of an attribute having a long shaft in her rear right hand while the normal one seems to have been held in *varada-mudrā*. The object in the additional left hand cannot be identified properly. It may have been a lotus with a stalk. The suspended normal left hand seems to have been placed on the head of an attendant figure standing near her left foot. There may have been another attendant figure on the right also but that is completely lost now. Stylistically, the figure may be dated to about the ninth century A.D.

The second figure is now fixed in the wall of a Vishṇu Temple at Sagwan in district Hisar.[14] Measuring 50 × 25 cms., it shows the goddess standing to front between two pillars (Fig. 2). The image is coated with a thick layer of white-wash which has concealed some of its finer features. The goddess bearing matted locks on her head wears ear ornaments, a necklace with a pendent string falling to the left of her navel from between her breasts, armlets, bracelets, undergarment secured by a waist-band and a long garland. Her normal right hand is held in *varada* pose. The attributes in the upper two hands are not clear nor is the object in the suspended left hand indentifiable. There is a round gloriole behind the head. The unquestionable evidence to identify her as Pārvatī performing the penance has survived in the form of a small fire-altar on either side of her feet. The image may be dated to *circa* tenth century A.D.

The third image lies fixed in the outer wall of the house of Shri Ram Kumar Singh (Nambardar) in village Jasat, located about 40 kms. south-west of Gurgaon and approachable via Patauda and Nurgarh. Jasat has an extensive mound spread over 30 acres, nearly 10 feet in height, now partly under habitation.[15] Medieval images of Vishṇu, Brahmāṇī, Nandī, *vidyādharas*, architectural piece with a later carving of Goga on it now preserved in the Śiva Temple, Bhairon jī kā Temple, and fixed in the walls of private buildings indicate the existence of Vaishṇava and Śaiva temples at Jasat. The image under consideration, fixed alongside a Viśvarūpa image,[16] in the outer wall of the Nambardar's house, is made of blackish grey sandstone and measures 61 × 44 cms. The goddess stands to front with a slight bend in the upper part of

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her body, holding a Śiva-liṅga and Gaṇeśa (?) on lotuses in her rear right and left hands (Fig. 3). Both the front hands are broken. She bears matted locks on her head, circular rings in ears, multi-stringed necklace, *keyūras, valayas, vanamālā, dhoti* secured by *netra-sūtra, nūpuras* etc. Garland bearing *vidyā-dharas* in flying postures are depicted on the top corners of the rectangular slab. At the waist level, on either side, may be seen fire altars. Two attendant figures flank the goddess on either side near her feet. There is a round lotiform halo behind the head of the goddess. Her face, breasts, normal hands, the *vidyādhara* and the attendant figures have suffered mutilation. The image may be assigned to the tenth century A.D. on stylistic grounds.

We thus see that the region north of Mathura was not completely devoid of the images of *tapasvinī* Pārvatī in the early medieval period.

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11. Trivedi, *op. cit.* , p. 60.
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14. We are thankful to our friend Sh. D. S. Malik for bringing this image to our notice.
15. We visited this site with our friend Sh. Mohinder Singh (K. U., Kurukshetra) on 7. 5. 1990.
16. A detailed account of this image is being published by us elsewhere.

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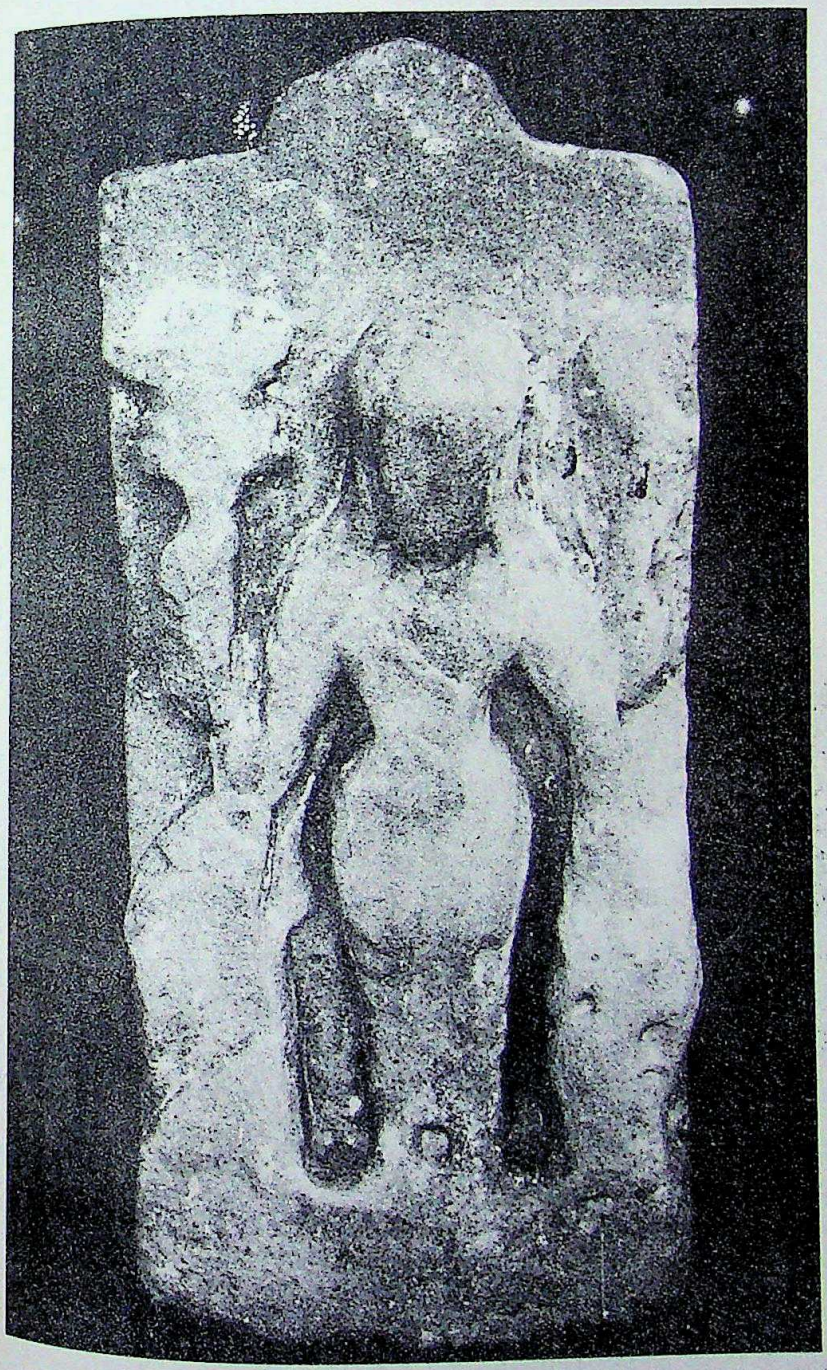

Fig. 1. *Tapasvinī* Pārvatī from Morni, district Ambala.

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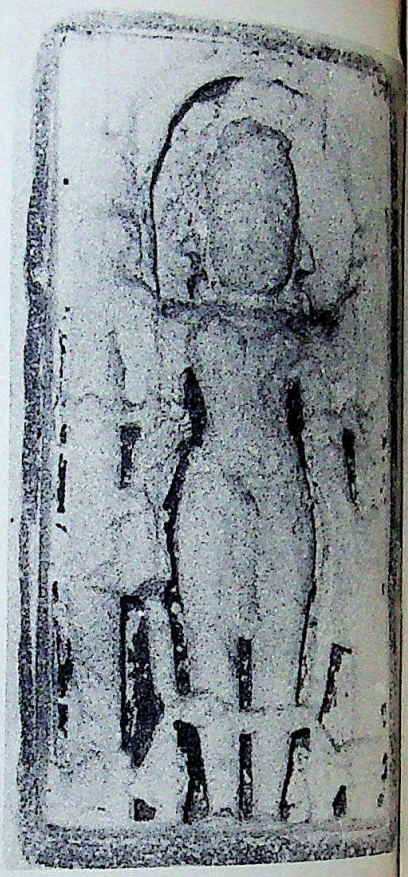

Fig.2. *Tapasvinī* Pārvatī from Sagwan, district Hisar.

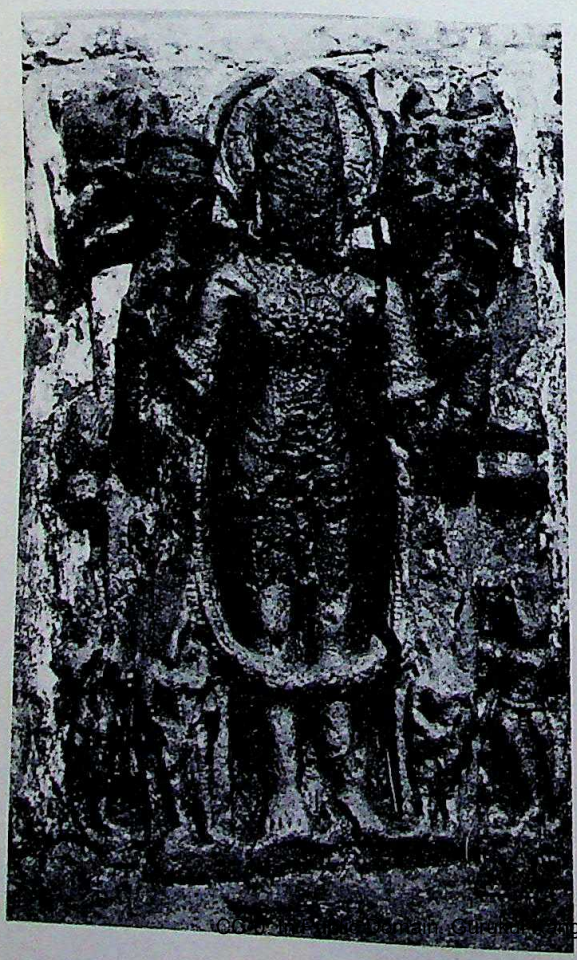

Fig.3. *Tapasvinī* Pārvatī fro
Jasat. district Gurgaon.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS IN THE ROHTAK BLOCK (HARYANA)

Kailash Kumar & Manmohan Kumar

The Department of History, Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak started the systematic village to village explorations in the Rohtak district of Haryana during the year 1987 under the direction of the second author, Dr. Silak Ram and Dr. Amar Singh in order to bring to light all the archaeological sites ranging from Pre-Harappan to Medieval period. Such a study is quite necessary because in the earlier reporting, the writers reported the sites of their own interest. For example, Dr. Suraj Bhan was interested only in the proto-historic sites and he only reported either the earliest remains or at best gave the proto-historic ones.[1] The next scholar who conducted explorations in the area was Dr. Silak Ram who reported a few Early historic sites also.[2] By and large, later sites went unreported and the present effort has tried to plug such loopholes. For this purpose all the blocks of the district were taken up as separate identity and each of these blocks was assigned to one M.Phil. student for his dissertation and the first author was allotted the Rohtak block for surveying under the direction of the second author.[3]

The Rohtak block is bound towards the North and the East by Sonepat district, towards the South of it are Kalanaur and Sampla blocks (District Rohtak) whereas Chiri block is towards its West (See map at the end). The town of Rohtak, the headquarter of the district of the same name is a separate identity though bound all around by the villages of the Rohtak block.

Since the earlier explorations conducted in the area were not planned ones only a few sites were located in this archaeologically rich area. Even the reportings lacked comprehensive details and due to this reason some of the earlier reported sites could not be relocated. At times revisits to the sites have yielded new elements hitherto unreported.

With practically very little archaeological background the present effort laid emphasis on recording the minute details of the sites on the basis of the village to village survey. As a result 34 sites were recorded ranging from Pre-Harappan to the Medieval period. Two of these sites belonged to the Pre-Harappan phase, 6 to the late phase of the Harappan period, 7 sites yielded the painted grey were (PGW), historic remains belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era were found from 17 sites whereas the early Medieval remains were found from 3 sites. Medieval and late Medieval

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remains were found at 11 sites. Out of these 34 sites, 26 were placed on the archaeological map for the first time whereas new evidences were found from one of the sites.

A brief resume of the survey is given herewith listing all the earlier reported and recently located sites. Here the sites are reported alphabetically.

S.No.	Name of the site	Archaeological potentialities	Size of the site	Remarks & published references if any
1.	Asan	Late Harappan (L.H.)	200×200 m	(Levelled) Silak Ram, *op.cit.*, p.45.
2.	Asthal Bohar	Early Medieval (E.M.)		Yielded coins, coin moulds[4] and sculptures[5]
3.	Baliana-1	L.H., PGW &Hist.	Occupied	Silak Ram, *op.cit.*, p. 39 (also reported Pre-Har.)
4.	Baliana-2	PGW	-do-	*Ibid*, p . 39
5.	Basatpur	Med.	200×100 m	New site
6.	Bhalaut-1	Med.	100×100 m	-do-
7.	Bhalaut-2	L.H.., Hist.	200×200m	-do-
8.	Bhalaut-3	Hist.	200×200 m	Silak Ram, *op.cit.*, p . 49
9.	Hamayunpur	L.H., PGW, Hist.	200×200 ×1m	New site
10.	Jasia-1	Med.	200×200×2m	-do-
11.	Jasia-2	Med.	Occupied	-do-
12.	Kansala-1	L.H., PGW, Hist.	300×300m	-do-
13.	Kansala-2	Hist.	100×100×1m	-do-
14.	Kansala-3	Hist. & Med.	100×100×1m	-do-
15.	Katwara	Med.	100×100×1m	-do-
16.	Khidwali-1	Hist.&Med.	250×200×2m	-do-
17.	Khidwali-2	Med.	200×200×3m	-do-
18.	Kiloi-1	Hist & Med.	100×100×1m	New Site
19.	Kiloi-2	Med.	200×200×2m	-do-
20.	Ladhout-1	Hist. & Med.	100×100m	-do-
21.	Ladhout-2	Med.	100×100m	-do-
22.	Ladhout-3	Hist. & Early Med.	250×200m	Silak Ram, *op.cit.*, p. 53
23.	Mungan	L.H. & Hist.	200 × 200 × 2m	New Site
24.	Pakasama-1	PGW. & Hist.	200×200×2m	-do-
25.	Pakasama-2	Hist. & Med.	150×100 m	-do-
26.	Polangi-1	PGW, Black slipped ware & Hist.	Not given	Silak Ram, *op.cit.*, p. 54

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S.No.	Name of the site	Archaeological potentialities	Size of the site	Remarks & published references if any
27.	Polangi-2	Hist.	Occupied	New Site
28.	Rurki	Early Med.	Occupied	New Site
29.	Sanghi-1	Med.	150×150×1m	-do-
30.	Sanghi-2	Med.	200×200×1m	-do-
31.	Sanghi-3	PGW	100×100×1m	-do-
32.	Sanghi-4	Hist.	150×150×2 ½ m	-do-
33.	Sanghi-5	Hist.	150×150×3m	-do-
34.	Sanghi-6	Pre-Harappan	Not given	Suraj Bhan, *op.cit.*, p . 126.

Apart from these cultural remains of various periods the area has also yielded the numismatic, epigraphical, art and architectural remains.

Numismatically the area under the present studies is quite important. The well known site of Khokhrakot, which has yielded the coins of various periods, is bound all around by the villages of this block. A few more sites viz. Bhalaut and Asan have also yielded the coins. The present effort also placed a few sites on the numismatic map of India which are Pakasama-1 (Kuṣāṇa coins), Polangi (Kota coins), Kiloi (Sultanate coins). Apart from this the site of Asthal Bohar is known for the coins of Indo-Sassanian, Gadhia and Ṣāhī coins.

A few inscriptions were found during the course of present explorations. An inscription was found from the village Rurki belonging to the time of Aurangzeb dated 1080 A.H. Another inscription written in Persian which could not yet be deciphered is fixed in a structure at Math Asthal Bohar. The famous Palam Baoli inscription was also found earlier from the same village.[6]

The area is quite rich in the art remains and a good number of sculptures were found from the various sites. Most important of which is Asthal Bohar from where Hindu, Buddhist and Jain sculptures were found.[7] As a result of the present work a few more art pieces were found of which the most important is *Ekmukheśvara liṅga* of spotted red Mathura stone from Kiloi which incidentally is the earliest stone sculpture found from this region belonging to c.4th-5th century A.D. Another sculpture representing Kārttikeya (?) from village Rurki and a small Viṣṇu image measuring 6×3.5cms. from Asthal Bohar belonging to late Gupta period[8] are quite interesting.

A few specimen of terracotta art were also obtained from different sites of which a bull figurine of late Harappan period from Mungan, bird figurines from Sanghi (PGW period), animal figurines from Jasia-1 (Kuṣāṇa period) and animal and bird figurines of medieval period are quite noteworthy.

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Very few specimens of architecture are found in the area, Apart from an architectural member from Rurki, the only serving brick temple belonging to c. 9th-10th century A.D. is located in the math Asthal Bohar. It is now renovated and a dome is added to it. This temple is made of bricks and carvelled bricks with lime mortar. Apart from this not much is known about the later architecture which could not survive the time. Only a few beautiful well-cum-baolis found at Rurki and Sanghi villages, show the architectural zeal of the people of the Medieval period. Some of these wells have inscriptions in Urdu and Nāgarī also.

Since no site of this block has so far been excavated and hence the importance of the explorations for the reconstruction of history is quite noteworthy and as a consequence of this effort valuable light is shed on the early history of the region. Some of explored sites have also rich potentialities and the excavations at these sites may yield very good results. One such site is Sanghi-3 which is a small single culture-site belonging to the Painted Grey Ware period and is still undisturbed. This site is ideally suited for horizontal excavation. No PGW site is fully excavated horizontally so far due to the constraints such as either the site is disturbed or is a multiculture site. Hence the site of Sanghi is quite ideal for excavations and can give us a complete idea of the settlement pattern and associated aspects.

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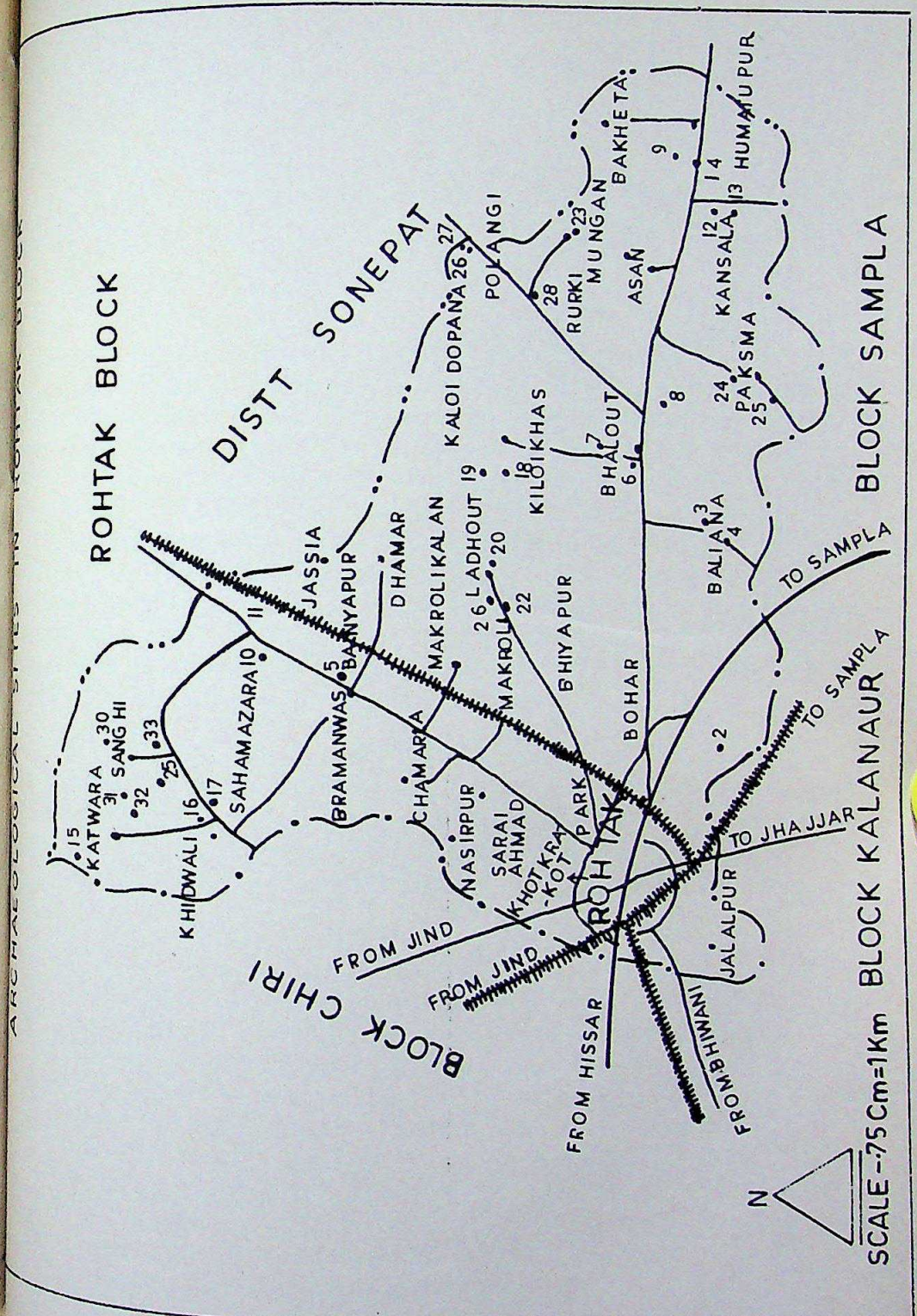

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KURUKSHETRA : ARCHAEOLOGY AND EARLY HISTORY

H. A. Phadke

The district of Kurukshetra is fortunate in having abundant source material both archaeological as well as literary, bearing on its ancient glory. The district has been explored and partly excavated by well-known archaeologists such as A. Cunningham, Chas. Rodgers, D. B. Spooner, B. B. Lal, H. L. Srivastava and recently by Suraj Bhan, Jagatpati Joshi, U. V. Singh, Manmohan Kumar and others.[1] Among the indologists and historians who were fascinated by the theme of the rise of this oldest centre of Indian religion and culture mention may be made of P. V. Kane, B. C. Law, R. C. Majumdar, V. S. Agrawala, R. C. Agrawala, S. S. Parui and many others.[2] *The History of Kurukshetra* by V. N. Datta and H. A. Phadke is the latest attempt at a perceptive and meticulous study of the past and present of the region based on all available source material on the subject.

The historical importance of the district may be attributed quite reasonably to its headquarters – the city of Kurukshetra and its surroundings which stands forth as the most renowned seat of Indian culture and one of the most ancient places of pilgrimage of the ancient world. It is the cradle of Vedic culture, the battlefield of the Mahābhārata and the birth place of *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā*.[3]

Around Kurukshetra has gathered much legendary material, nourished and sustained over centuries by faith in religion. According to the *Mahābhārata*,[4] Kurukshetra is named after the sage king Kuru who had cultivated this land with passionate devotion. Kuru, a simple and pious man, gifted with the power of working miracles, was the son of Samvaraṇa and Tapati, the ancestor of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. The *Vāmana Purāṇa*[5] ascribes the origin of Kurukshetra to the courage, intensive devotion and asceticism of Kuru. It elaborates on the king's cultivation of the eightfold ethical conduct (*aṣṭāṅga-mahādharma*) of austerity (*tapas*), truth (*satya*), forgiveness (*Kshamā*), kindness (*dayā*), purity (*śaucha*), charity (*dāna*), yoga and continence (*brahmacharya*). King Kuru thus laid the foundation of that type of culture which was spiritual without being unworldly and material without being avaricious.[6] It was this culture which was considered later on by the *Manusamhitā* as 'worthy of emulation by humanity all over the world'[7].

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The story of Kuru and his association with Kurukshetra as its founder may be a legend or pure invention. The area bounded by the rivers – the Sarasvatī and the Dṛishadvatī where the Kurus lived, was called Kurukshetra in the Brahmanical literature.[8] The word Kuru means 'a priest' or 'boiled rice'[9] which indicates the priestly profession of the Kurus, the descendants of the Bharatas and the Pūrus. As religious beliefs and practices largely influenced men's lives in ancient times, it was therefore, quite natural for tribes to derive their names from them. The word Kuru thus denotes Vedic sacrifices (*yajñas*) or a priestly class.[10] The name of a king Kuruśravana[11] and of a priest Kurustuti[12] occur in the Vedas, the former meaning a person who 'listens to the chanting of Vedic mantras', and the latter, a priest 'offering prayers at the sacrifices'.[13] That is why the Brahmanas associated Kurukshetra with the performance of divine sacrifices for which Kurukshetra came to be known as Brahmavedi.[14] As Kuruvaḥ or the Kurus performed sacrifices, their locality was called Kurukshetra.[15] Thus, the name Kurukshetra was derived not from an individual ruler like Kuru, but from the tribe – the Kurus.[16]

What was Kurukshetra like before it was occupied by the Kurus ? The region has yielded pottery of pre-Harappan, Harappan, Late-Harappan and Painted Grey Ware Cultures testifying to the fact that the region was inhabited by different peoples. Some of the parts of the region show continuity of habitation while in others there is break.[17]

I. THE PROTO-HISTORIC PERIOD

The Pre-Harappans and the Harappans were the earliest people inhabiting the district as is gathered from the discovery of their pottery from Mohna and Mayoli respectively, both sites in Kaithal tehsil.[18] It is not possible to attempt any reconstruction of these earliest inhabitations on the basis of this slender evidence. The next phase of the material culture of the district is marked by the discovery of Late-Harappan Ware (c. 1700-1500 B.C.) from as many as sixty-three sites,[19] some of which have been systematically excavated and it may be noted that in one of the sites juxtaposition of this culture with the Painted Grey Ware has been found. A brief account of the excavated sites and the valuable evidence which they have brought to light is as follows :

The ancient mound near the village Daulatpur is of a moderate size ; rising to a height of nearly 6 m. It lies by the side of a nullah, branching off from the Chitang (Ancient Dṛishadvatī). It is approached via Kurukshetra-Saharanpur road and is about 15 kms. from Thanesar. The earliest settlement at the site represents a late phase of Indus Civilisation (c. 1700-1500 B. C.). The period was characterised by the use of typical sturdy, red coloured pottery, painted in black and decorated with geometric and linear designs. The evolved shapes, inferior treatment of the surface and the simpler and fewer decorations on the pottery, indicate a decadent stage of the Indus Culture. The

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material equipment of the period included the remains of round ovens, charred grains, grinding stones, bone engravers and copper bangles. The copper fish-hook and bone-points suggest that hunting and fishing supplemented the food supply of the people. The folk in this period decorated their persons with ornaments like bangles of faience and terracotta and beads of semiprecious stones.[20]

The Mirzapur site is located at a distance of about 200 m. to the east of the mound of Rājā Karṇa Kā Quilā. During the excavations a structural complex of mud-brick walls consisting of two rooms was exposed providing evidence of fire-place, refuse-pit, an oven and a corn-bin. The walls have foundations of rammed earth underneath, and are straight and meet at proper right angles at fixed points with measured sides. The pottery is characterised by the sturdy red ware beautifully painted in light black colour with geometrical, linear, plant, fish and bird designs. Some of the sherds in the ware contained incised decoration on the interior of the pots, comparable to that occurring on the pre-Harappan pottery from Kalibangan. The painted designs and shapes in the ware are almost similar to those recovered from Bara, near Ropar in Punjab. Other interesting finds of the period are large number of beads of agate, crystals, carnelian, jasper, steatite, faience and terracotta; chisels, rings, needle, one complete spearhead without mid-rib and a fragmentary parasu (?) in copper; figurines of humped bull, painted figurines of snake (?) and bull, cakes (both circular and triangular), bangles, toy-cart frame and wheels and balls in terracotta; sharpners, pestles and querns in stone; a beautiful figurine of stag with a horizontal hole for use as pendant, balls with incised decoration and a large number of bangles in faience.[21] The material equipment of this period as gathered from both the sites, despite some of their variations, suggest a degenerated stage of the Harappan culture. The decline of the culture is explained as the 'result of world-wide recession in trade and commerce, in face of unstable political conditions, which seem to have prevailed around c. 1800 B.C. when the business contacts with the Persian Gulf, Mesopotamia and Egypt seem to have been suddenly severed'.[22] According to another view, the decline is attributed to the hydrographical changes, i.e. the cutting up of the courses of the rivers – the Sarasvatī and the Dṛishadvatī by the Yamunā in its upper course resulting in the drying up of the former two rivers and the consequential migrations of people to north east and across the Yamunā in search of better living conditions.[23]

Towards the beginning of the first millennium B.C. with the advent of the Painted Grey Ware culture (so called because of its typical fine grey pottery painted with black designs) begins a new chapter in the history of the district. The pottery which has been preponderously found all over the district (at as many as seventy-eight sites discovered so far) is associated with the later-Vedic period specially the age of the Mahābhārata.[24]

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For long scholars were puzzled over the clear breach between the Harappans and the Aryans but the Bhagwanpura excavations[25] (on the right bank of the Sarasvatī in the district) have established for the first time the link between the two cultures. This is of considerable importance for the understanding of the historical growth of the district from the middle of the second millennium B.C.[26] The late-Harappan pottery discovered at Bhagwanpura is similar to that found at Mirzapur and Daulatpur. The people knew the art of building solid mud-platforms to protect their inhabitation from the ravages of the floods in the Sarasvatī; while their pottery gives a fairly good idea of household objects – dishes, bowls, jars and basins, terracotta toys, beads and bangles. The fusion of the late-Harappans and the Painted Grey Ware cultures is also reflected in the continuity of the art tradition in pottery types, painted designs, art of terracotta figurines and burials. 'Absence of iron and black-and-red Ware might possibly indicate that the Painted Grey Ware using people who inhabited this area were of earlier wave of migrants than those met with at Hastinapura'.[27] Further, the Bhagwanpura excavations also throw light on three phases of the building activity of the Painted Grey Ware people. The earliest phase revealed semicircular thatched huts and oval shaped structures of high burnt mud walls. The second phase is marked by the building of mud-walled houses (as known from a complete house complex of thirteen rooms, corridor and a court-yard). The rooms yielded animal bones, PGW dishes and bowls, *ghaṭa*-shaped terracotta beads, bone *styli* and copper objects. Significantly 2 to 5 per cent of late-harappan pottery was also available from the rooms of this house complex. The third phase gives evidence of the existence of houses built of baked bricks. Two curious oval shaped structures which are also associated with this phase perhaps suggest some religious purpose. Besides this, two skeletons – of an adult and a child – have been found from the PGW habitation area. The different levels of the site reveal variety of animal bones – bull, sheep, goat, ram, dog, and equus suggesting their animal and cattle wealth.[28] The evidence of the Bhagwanpura excavation is thus invaluable for the reconstruction of the earliest phases of the archaeology and history of the district.

The city was known to the *Ṛigveda* after its sacred tank Śaryaṇāvat (identified with Brahmasara), the centre of numerous legends (connected with Indra, sage Dadhīchi, Aśvins and the non-Aryan god Vṛitra) wherein questions regarding Ultimate Reality, origin of Universe and manifestation of Nature, in intelligible and beautiful forms were raised and answered.[29]

The advent of the Aryans makes the history of Kurukshetra coherent and meaningful. They gave to India its name Bhārata, and to Kurukshetra, both its name as well as its religious character. In a collection of humns, the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, Kurukshetra is first mentioned by name as a place of divine sacrifices (*Devā ha vai satra māsata Kurukshetra*). Thus the antiquity

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of Kurukshetra even on the basis of literary tradition alone is more than 3,000 years.[30]

The tract which came to be called Kurukshetra was originally inhabited by the Bharatas, the most powerful tribe of the Ṛigvedic period. The Bharatas, known for their valour and love of learning waged the battle of the ten kings defeating the Purus on the Parushṇi (Ravi).[31]

The Pūrus, though defeated, established themselves on the Sarasvatī.[32] Their fortunes were salvaged later by their powerful king Trasadasyu[33] from whose times possibly a policy of assimilation was followed towards their enemies, the Bharatas. In this process of amalgamation and the reorganisation of older tribes, emerged the Kurus as a distinct people though they are not mentioned specifically in the Ṛigveda [34]. From the Vājasaneyī Samhitā the Kuru-Pāñchālas appear as a variation of the Bharatas.[35] The intermixture of the Bharatas and the Kurus is further corroborated by such passages as *Kuravonāma Bhāratah* in the Mahābhārata whose very name discloses a close connection between the Bharatas and the Kurus.[36] In the geneology of the Kurus, both Bharata and Pūru occur as names of their ancestors who are quite often referred to as 'sons of Bharata' and 'sons of Pūru'. The assimilation of these tribes took place due to the conquest of one people by another and this process, whereby tribes are transformed into peoples and Janapadas, was a common feature during the Vedic period.[37]

As shown above, although some gleaning of tribal assimilation is gathered from the early Vedic literature, it fails to provide any direct information on the socio-economic formations. The Ṛigveda does not mention the Kurus or Kurukshetra, the area of their social and cultural expansion. And as archaeology also does not provide any clue in this regard one has to depend largely on an analytical study of the relevant linguistic data as has been commendably done by Prof. D. D. Kosambi and later by Prof. R. S. Sharma in their respective studies[38]. These researches show that during Ṛigvedic period the nature of economy was pastoral having no surplus, that the tribal conflicts turned war into 'a natural economic function' and the unequal sharing of wealth led to the emergence of the institution of kingship. Later, the expansion of the plough agriculture and the consequential growth of permanent settlements transformed the tribal state into territorial state and the gradual disintegration of the tribal society into class and occupational groupings took place. The upper classes did not participate in the productive process and the ritualistic nature of religion made peasants obey and pay taxes to the chiefs.[39]

It may be of interest to note that the Ṛigveda does not refer to settlements. Whatever place names find mention therein is either because these constituted the spots where fire-ritual by some royal personage or a priest was

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performed, or they were incidentally located on the course of the sacred rivers – the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī, where Vedic ritualism took form.[40] Is it without significance that only in the later-Vedic texts specific information is available on the Vedic settlements – the house with surroundings, different apartments, fire-place, shelter for the cattle and shed for corn, the mode of house construction – the use of pillars, cross beams, roofs formed of ribs of bamboo cane, thatched coverings, building and finishing of the walls, their sides and doors and also the fence ?[41] It would certainly be fruitful if this information is compared with what we gathered from the archaeologial evidence recovered from Bhagwanpura and other sites so as to further explain the socio-economic transformation from the Ṛigvedic to the Later-Vedic periods. This is what is missing in the studies referred to above.

Other subject of the deepest concern of the Vedic seers seem to be the process of desiccation of their dearest rivers—the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī – a phenomenon which is reflected in their intensive prayers particularly to the former, not to deprive them of their life-giving waters. This finds corroboration in the Kavaṣa legend of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and later in several Puranic narratives connected with the disappearance of these rivers in the Rajasthan deserts.[42]

The Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa for instance, indicates movements of the sacrificers in reverse direction that is from Vanaśana (where the combined flow of the said rivers disappeared in the sand) towards north and northeast, to Plaksa Prāśravaṇa (the source of Sarasvatī) and Kārapachava on the Yamunā, at the last place lustral bath was undertaken.[43] This accords well with the archaeological evidence as gathered from intensive explorations and excavations in the region.[44] It has been pointed out that the post-Harappan Painted Grey Ware settlements are located within the flood plains of the Sarasvatī and not on the high benches which were inhabited by the Harappans in early periods. The PGW is abundantly found in the Kurukshetra region and is absent or rarely appears on the lower courses of the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī, and further that the rivers were possibly caught by the Yamunā in their upper courses, a phenomenon which perhaps led to the growing desiccation of the Sarasvatī basin specially in the lower Haryana and northern Rajasthan which also contributed to the decline of the Harappan culture forcing the people to move northeast across the Yamunā in search of better living conditions.[45] The attribute Prāchī applied to the river Sarasvatī and the dialogue between the Sarasvatī and the Gaṅgā in the Padma[46] also supports the contention that in the later-Vedic period main flow of the Sarasvatī in its upper course was taken over by the Yamunā due to natural disturbances resulting in the drying up of its lower course passing through south-western Haryana and adjoining parts of the northern Rajasthan.[47] The Pañchavimśa passage also alludes to an early period when the rivers had become dry and

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hence the sacrificers required an upstream journey for the completion of their fire-ritual sessions[48]. It would be of interest to know how did such natural factors viz. changing of the river courses or drying up of their waters affect the socio-economic formations. The terror of the destructive power of nature must also have led to the formations of superstitious beliefs of those early people. The Vedic legends wherein such elements are reflected in a different garb need scientific investigation.

Prof. Kosambi in his studies has suggested that it was through the interaction between the Aryans and the non-Aryans that the Brāhmaṇa varṇa, the new class of specialists on rituals developed.[49] In this context it may be recalled that the Kurus were the most important people of the later-Vedic age and that it was at Kurukshetra, the land of their activities, that Brāhmaṇas, the earliest texts on Vedic rituals were composed.[50] Would it not then be possible to connect the Kurus with the non-Aryans in the light of the proposition made by Prof. Kosambi? That may explain why the Kurus are not mentioned in the Ṛigveda among the various Aryan tribes, and why they suddenly begin to figure in the later-Vedic texts specially the Brāhmaṇas as authorities on the whole corpus of Vedic ritualism. And further how is it that only their moral code of conduct and superiority in matters spiritual were considered for special commendations down to the age of the Buddha.[51] It has been suggested that the religious philosophies of the sixth century B.C. called Śramaṇism (i.e., the culture of the *munis* and *Śramaṇas*) was of non-Vedic origin, the germs of which could be found among the Harappans of the proto-historic period.[52] The observations need further probing for it would provide an altogether new dimension to the problem of the origins of Kurukshetra.

The beginnings of the history of Kurukshetra are thus shrouded in mystery. These cannot be traced much beyond the age of the Brāhmaṇas wherein Kurukshetra is called the Vedi (altar) of Prājapati and the place of divine worship,[53] but presently this would be sufficient to establish that the place stood forth as a place of mental and spiritual vigour, and where the sages reflected on the mystery of universe and on the real meaning of existence. In the making of Kurukshetra as a seat of religion and culture the Kurus made distinct contribution by performing sacrifices, by their religious devotion, idealism, and innate literary and spiritual reserves. The foundation of Indian culture was thus laid at Kurukshetra with a character – definite and distinct, in the history of the whole ancient world.[54]

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EXCAVATIONS AT DĀRĀŚURAM

D. Dayalan

Dārāśuram (10°57 N 79°22 E) is a small town, situated 5 Kms. to the south of Kumbakonam in the Kumbakonam Taluk of Thanjavur district. It has a railway station on the Madras - Ramesvaram line of Southern Railway and is also served by good roads form Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli. The town which has come to eminence due to the famous Śiva temple of Airāvatēśvarar, abounds in architectural and rare sculptural specimens of fine workmanship. Arasalār, one of the branch of Cauvery river which also occupied a prominent place in the south Indian history is flowing just north of Dārāśuram. Dārāśuram was located in the ancient geographical division called Pāmpūr Nāḍu in Uyyankoṇḍān Vaḷanādu. The town is surrounded by many historical places like Āriyappaḍi viḍu, *Pambappaḍi viḍu* (the camping centres of the Choḷa military regiments called Āriyappaḍi and Pambapaḍi), Nuḷaiyūr (entrance to the city), Nādankovil, Paḷaiyāṟi, Uḍaiyālūr, etc on the south; Choḷan māligai (Palace of Cholas), Tirumeṟṟaḷigai, Tēnampaḍugai, Pattīśvaram, Puduppaḍi viḍu on the south-west; Śwāmimalai, Tiruvalañjuḷi, Ammāpēttai on the west; Kōttaiyūr, Kumbakōnam on the north and Sākkōttai, Anaikkarappālayam, Śrinivasanallur on the east.

The temple now known as the Airāvastēśvara at Dārāśuram is called as Rājarājēśvaram in its inscriptions and was built by Rājarāja II (AD. 1146-1172). Though Gangaikoṇḍa Chōḻapuram continued to be the capital of the Choḷas, Rājarāja II, however, would appear to have stayed mostly in the subsidiary Choḷa capital of Paḷaiyāṟi alias Āyirttali. In the *Rājarājasōḻaṉ-ulā* composed by Rājarāja's court poet Ottakkūttan, the capital city is referred to as Rājarājapuṟi. This city must have been a sprawling big city covering the present day villages of Paḷaiyāṟi, Mulaiyūr, Dārāśuram and others. The present name Dārāśuram is the corrupted form of the capital city Rājarājapuṟi or Rājarājapuram. The name Rājarājapuram was changed to Dārāśuram through an intermediate Tamilized 'Rārācuram' as seen from the late Choḷa and Pāṇḍya inscriptions at the site.

The Airāvatēśvarar temple complex facing east is enclosed within a massive *prākāra* wall. The *prākāra* wall has a single *gōpura* entrance on the east. A few feet east of this *gōpura* are the *balipīṭha* and *Nandimaṇḍapa*. The outer *gōpura*, also on the east of temple is situated at about a distance of 100 mts. from the inner *gōpura*. The upper portion of the outer *gōpura* is completely lost. It is presumed that this *gōpura* is named as "Ikai-mūvēndaraiyan tirugōpuram" – the sacred *gōpura* of Ikai-mūvēndaraiyan, the builder, on the basis of the loose inscription found here. The outer *prākāra* which once seems

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to have included the Devī temple, now called as Dēvanāyakī Amman, and also a tank now completely silted up, has totally disappeared. The Amman shrine is situated nearly 50 mts. north of main temple.

Large scale excavations were undertaken during the year 1986 by the Archaeological Survey of India in the area between the inner and the outer *gōpura* of the Airāvatēśvara temple and in between the main Amman shrine (Plate1&2) in order to know the original Choḷa level, which is roughly 2 mts. below the present level. In 1950's the half buried *Nandimaṇḍapa* and *Balipīṭha* in front of the inner *gōpura* were exposed and the full form of these structures are restored. Recently while clearing the earth on the eastern side of the inner *gōpura* was noticed an inscription of Kōnerimaikkoṇḍān which mentions the *Pallippaḍi* temples – Rājāgambhīra Īśvaram, Bhuvana muḻuḍuḍaiyāl Īśvaram, Tirubhuvana muḻuḍuḍaiyāl Īśvaram Eḷḷulagamuḻuḍaiyāl Īśvaram and Ulaguḍai mukkōkkiḻānaḍi Īśvaram. These are probably the Pallippaḍi (temple constructed on the mortal remains of a person) of Rājarāja II and his queens. While carrying out major work of re-erecting the south-eastern *prākāra* wall, after providing necessary foundation, interesting antiquities of the Choḷa and later periods were unearthed at the foundation level. The antiquities are bronzes, depicting on pedestal Śiṟuttoṇḍar with his consort and their son Śirāḷan and in another Naraśinga munaiyaraiyar (Plate 3). Śiṟuttoṇḍar and Naraśinga munaiyaraiyar were the staunch devotees of Śiva. Interestingly the respective pedestals of these images bear inscriptions in Tamil of 12th century mentioning their names. Bronze images of Durgā and crawling Kṛishṇa of the later period are also found. Besides these finds other objects encountered are the copper bowls, pūjā utensils, a hoard of Choḷa coins and other ornamental pieces.

The present excavation in between the two *gōpuras* brought to light a huge rectangular platform completely built of bricks measuring 15.5 mtrs NS × 11.5 mtrs. EW just beneath the stone basement (Plate 4). The brick platform consists of 21 courses with offsets at the middle on both sides and measures 2.5 metres in height. The newly exposed brick platform and the inner and outer *gōpura* are in the same axial. The stone structure constructed above the brick one is seen to be the basement of open pillared *maṇḍapa* or any such religious edifice, as testified by the occurrence of the lower most *upāna* and *padma* mouldings. The brick structure beneath the stone basement seems to be a solid brick platform made by paving the bricks. The bricks used for this are well burnt and finely executed. The size of the bricks used for this construction is approximately 27×17×7 cms. The brick platform is made by placing bricks one above the other alternatively i.e., one longitude wise and the other latitude wise. Practically there is no binding media used in between the bricks. In some places a very thin layer of fine sand was used in between the bricks. The offsets are found both on the east and west side of the main

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platform and project nearly 30 cms. from the main one. Key stones are also noticed in two places on the western face of the brick structure. The stone basement above and the brick structure beneath do not seem to be contemporary. It is clearly indicated that the stone basement is actually jutting out of the brick structure below it. Interestingly same sized bricks used for constructing the brick platform were also utilised for constructing the upper portion of the *gōpuras* and also filling the core of the *Prākāra* wall of the temple. It is reasonable to presume that the bricks used for the construction of the *gōpura* and core filling are brought from this abandoned brick platform and reused. Tentatively it can be concluded that this brick platform is chronologically earlier than the *gōpura* superstructure, *prākāra* wall and the stone basement above it. The stone basement may be an open pillared *maṇḍapa* constructed probably for some ritual purpose after making the earlier brick structure below as its basement.

On the northern and southern sides of this platform two parallel walls with varying width of 1.35 metres to 1.50 metres and just abutting the brick platform have been exposed. The gap between the two walls is 1.75 metres. On the southern side the walls are extant upto a length of 10 metres. On the northern side the western wall runs upto a length of 15 metres whereas the eastern one runs upto a length of 45 metres and then takes turn towards west, i.e., towards temple. The eastern wall is upto a height of 0.35 to 0.50 metres with 3 to 6 courses of bricks. The bricks of these walls have been robbed or reused on a large scale.

The parallel walls on both the sides of the platform are connected by brick-built water channels which are at a distance of 7 metres from the platform. The northern one is almost intact whereas the southern one is partly damaged. The working level of the water channel clearly indicates that it is of a later construction, built by reusing the bricks of an earlier structure. Though it is difficult to identify the nature of the brick platform and the parallel walls running on both the sides of it, tentatively it can be identified as a brick platform or brick *gōpura* in front of the temple with the brick *prākāra* wall encircling the temple. This brick platform or *gōpura* with *prākāra* wall must be earlier than the present inner *gōpura* and its *prākāra* wall, as most of the bricks of this structure have been reused for core filling of the *prākāra* wall and the construction of the superstructure of the *gōpura*. The brick platform with its brick *prākāra* wall may be either contemporary or earlier to the Airāvatēśvara temple. Existence of a temple in this area prior to the construction of the Airāvatēśvara temple by Rājarāja II is not completely ruled out, as this place was an important centre even prior to Rājarāja II's time. However this hypothesis is to be confirmed by other evidences.

Excavation on the north-western corner of the brick platform has brought to light a circular brick structure which has been partially exposed and its

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purpose cannot be ascertained at present. However, on the basis of the style of its construction, it may be identified as a well. Excavations on either side of the outer *gōpura* has revealed brick walls running in the east-west direction. They have been exposed to a length of 60 metres on the northern side. They are obviously of a later period (Vijayanagara-Nāyaka period) assigned on the basis of the brick size (21×13×5 cms.) and the nature of construction. The wall has a width of 0.80 metres.

Apart from this many stray brick structures were also exposed. Since these structures are highly disturbed by the brick robbers and natural agencies it is difficult to identify the actual purpose of it. Obviously most of them seem to be of religious nature, as they are located very near to the temple.

POTTERY :

Most of the pottery belongs to the medieval period. Though the red ware is a dominant variety, red slipped ware, black ware, etc., are also present in a small percentage. The main shapes of the potteries are shallow bowl with out flaring rim, deep bowl, globular pot, jar, lid-cum-bowl, ring stand (?), spouted vessel, etc. Majority of the potteries found here are used for ritual purposes. The decorations – stamped, nailed, thumb-impressed and others are found on the shoulders of the pottery. Plenty of ordinary four beaked terracotta lamps are also encountered. Interestingly a large number of 'L' shaped roofing tiles popularly known as the Chola tiles are found invariably in all the trenches. The roofing tiles are comparatively smaller in size and can be assigned to the later Chola period. Apart from this plenty of oven pieces and the sherds of huge jars are also encountered.

A good number of Chinese celadon and porcelain ware were also encounted. Interestingly one bowl with foot-ring of white porcelain has Chinese motifs in blue colour. This may be assigned to 14th-15th century A.D. Another spouted jar of Chinese brown ware belonging to 12th-13th century has the Chinese symbol 'Dragon' on it. Many Chinese stone and celadon wares are also encountered along with this. These potteries in addition to the potteries of Chinese ware of 10th century found in the excavations at Gangaikonda Cholapuram, the capital of the Cholas clearly indicates the relation between Tamil Nadu and China in 10th to 13th-14th centuries A.D.

ANTIQUITIES :

The excavation revealed large number of antiquities and architectural members like ornamented beams, pillars, stucco figurines, stone sculptures, Chola copper coins etc. The architectural members probably belong to the outer *gōpura* and the ruined structure exposed now. Adhikāra nandi and Chāmuṇḍi are some of the interesting stone sculptures found in the excavations. These sculptures are datable to 12th century A.D. on stylistic ground.

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Most of the Chola coins are of 'Ceylon man type'. The depiction of seated and standing man is found on the obverse and reverse of the coin. The reverse, in addition to this depiction, bears the legend "Śrī Rājarāja" in Nāgarī characters.

A terracotta sealing depicting a warrior holding a sword is unearthed at a depth of 2.15 metres very near to the brick wall. The purpose of the sealing is not clear. On the basis of the depiction of warrior with sword in the sealing, it can be reasonable to presume that it was an emblem or sealing used by the warrior community. Use of seals or emblems for the general purpose by certain communities/guilds was common in the Chola times. The guilds like *Nānadēśigal, Tiśaiāirattainūṟṟuvar, Añjuvanattār, Chittiramēḷi*, etc. had emblems of their own. The Chittiramēḷi, a guild of the agrarian people (*Būmi puttirās*) had plough as their emblem. Alike this the warrior community may also have had warrior with sword as their emblem.

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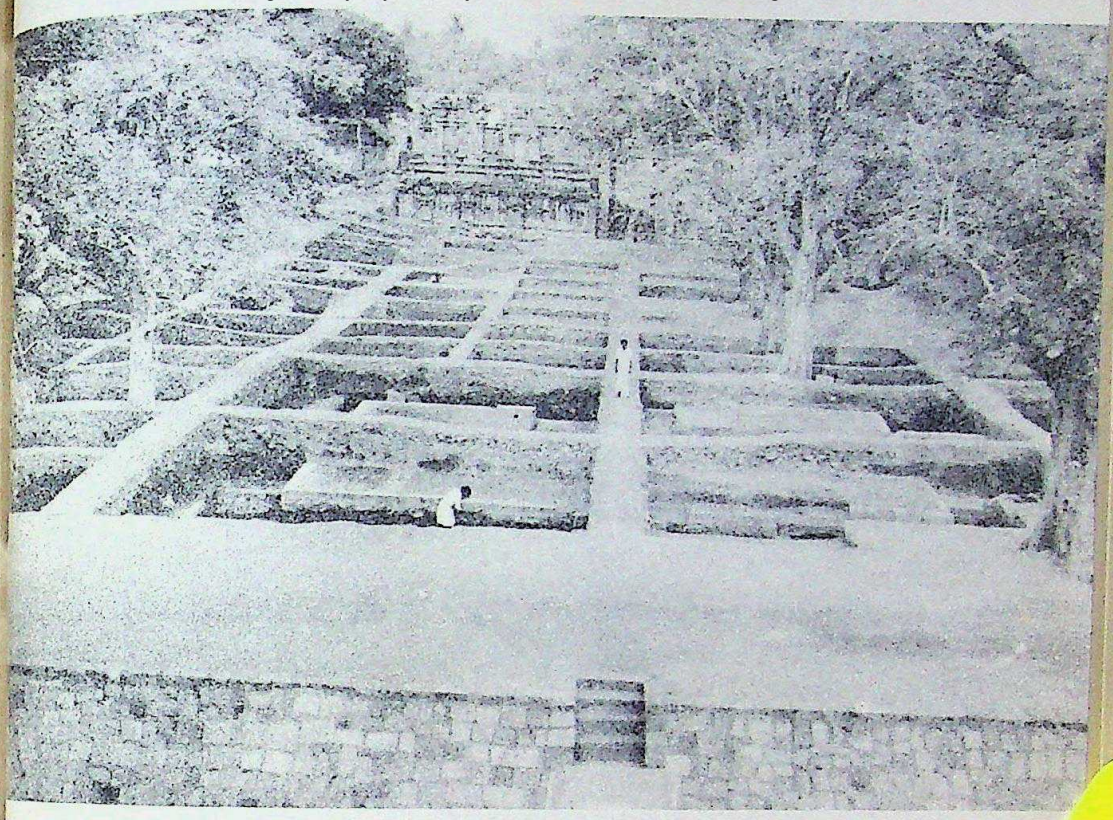
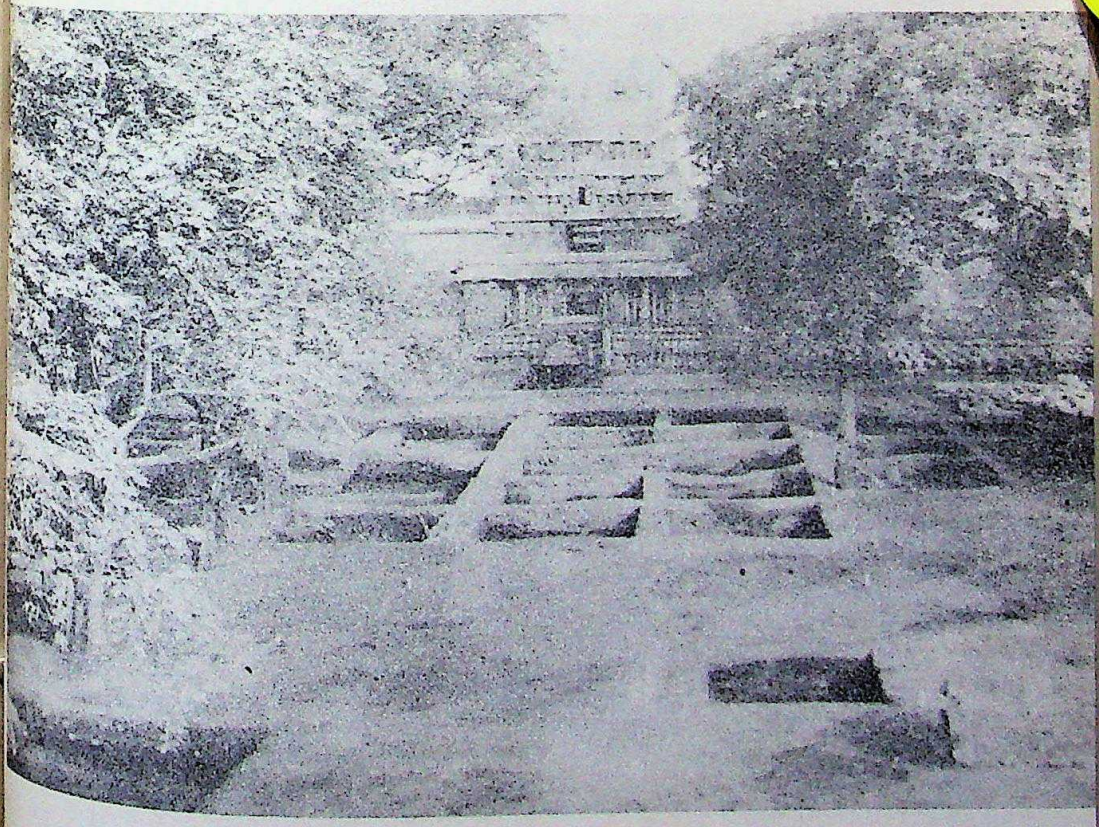


Pl. 1. General view of the Excavated site at Dārāsuram.



Pl. 2. General view of the Excavated site from East, Dārāsuram.

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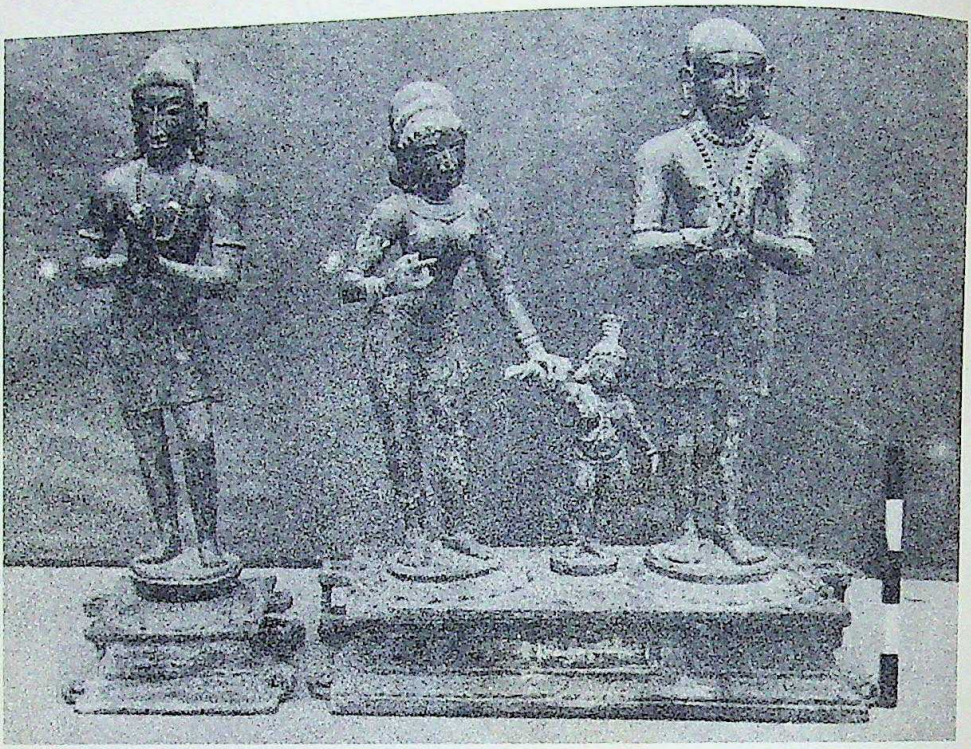

Pl. 3. Recently discovered bronzes of Siruttondar and Narasinga Munaiyaraiyar, Dārāśuram.

Pl. 4. General view of the excavated site showing brick platform, Dārāśuram.

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COINS OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH

Parmeshwari Lal Gupta

C. J. Rodgers, who was the Principal of the Teachers Training College at Amritsar in the later part of the last century, was the first to have any attention to the coin-series that he termed 'Sikh coinage'. He collected the coins of this series from all over the Punjab with the help of his students; and in 1881, he published a paper about them.[1] After him, till the first half of the present century, no notice of this coin-series was taken. It is only during the last few decades, some people took interest in them and published a few papers. But what was written in these papers, hardly contributed any thing new to our knowledge. The field remained almost barren till a few years back. The Punjab Government thought of bringing out a Catalogue of the coins of this series in the Sheeshmahal Museum of Patiala; it assigned this work to the Indian Institute of Numismatic Research. The scholars of the Institute then took up the study;[2] they thus opened a new vista for the researchers of the History of Punjab.

So long it was believed that the Sikh coinage was virtually the coins of the Lahore Darbar, i.e. the coins of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Punjab. It was never realised that this coinage had its origin much earlier. Few people are aware that the Sikh assembly (Sharbat Khalsa) had issued an edict (Gurumata) at its meeting at Amritsar sometime in V.S., 1810/1761 A.D. that if there should be any occasion to issue coins, the coins should be issued in the name of Guru Nanak and Guru Govind Singh.[3] Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, the Dal Khalsa leader, on occupying Lahore that year, had issued coins in his own name and the community did not appreciate his action. This was in no way any direct instruction for the immediate issue of coins. But the leaders of Dal Khalsa had no patience to wait for any occasion to issue coins. In V.S. 1822/1765 A.D. they issued their coins from Lahore. Thence onward coins were issued regularly year by year from there and then from V. S. 1832/1775 A.D. at Amritsar. Coins were also issued from Multan, when it came under the Sikhs. The authority of Dal Khalsa came to an end in V. S. 1855/1788 A.D. when Ranjit Singh, the young chief of the Sakarchakia *Misl*, proclaimed himself the Maharaja of the Punjab.

The ascendancy of Ranjit Singh, has its own story. In the autumn of 1796 A.D. Zaman Shah, the Afghan invader crossed the Indus and proceeded towards Delhi. On the way laid the territories of Sahib Singh Bhangi and

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Ranjit Singh Sakarchakia. Both of them tried to check the invader; but they did not succeed. Then Ranjit Singh abondoning his territory came to Amritsar, where the panic-striken chiefs had assembled for counsel. Most of them favoured to retreat to hills and let the Afghan invader plunder their deserted towns and cities; and suggested that when the plunderers would return to their country, they would pounce upon them. But this idea did not appeal to the young Ranjit Singh. He extorted those chiefs to stay in the plains and defend the people from whom they have taken the protection tax (*Rākhī*) for many years. His boldness infused courage in most of the assembled chiefs and they agreed to accept his leadership. Under the command of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh forces drove out the Afghans. While Zaman Shah was retreating to Kabul the Sikh forces pursued him through out the way to Jhelum and wiped out the soldiers of the Afghan leader Shachanchi Khan, who tried to hold the Sikh forces.

When Zaman Shah invaded India for the second time, the Sikh chiefs did not resist him and fled to hills. Har-mandir Sahib at Amritsar was left in the charge of a few guards. This was intolerable to Ranjit Singh. He rushed to Amritsar and aroused once again enthusiasm in those chiefs, who had fled, to stand by him to oppose the invader. The Afghans were badly mauled. For the third time Zaman Shah entered into Lahore in November 1798 A.D. But again he had to retreat. Thus Ranjit Singh ended the Afghan menace once for all; and this provided him an occasion to rise.

The city of Lahore had been in the hands of three Sikh chiefs at the time of Zaman Shah's invasion. As soon as they heard of the incoming of the Afghans, they deserted the city and fled away. But when Zaman Shah was driven out, they rushed back to occupy their estates. The people of the city, who were fed up of the oppressive behaviours of those chiefs; secretly invited Ranjit Singh, who by now had risen from an obscure chief to the status of hero of the Punjab, to come to Lahore and save them from the hands of those tyrants. Ranjit Singh assessed this opportunity in his favour and rushed to Lahore and occupied it immediately on July 7, 1799/V. S. 1857.

Ranjit Singh now became the premier chieftain of the Punjab. He installed himself in the fort and held regular courts in the traditions of the Mughal governors. For a while he was hesitant to assume kingship in any formal manner; but ultimately decided to declare his royalty. On the Baisakhi day (V. S. 1858), he proclaimed himself Maharaja of the Punjab.

On assuming royalty, according to Rai Kanhaiya Lal, the author of *Tawārīkh-i-Punjab,* Ranjit Singh immediately issued his coins. First 100 rupees, so coined were distributed in charity. The following couplet was

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placed on the obverse of the coins :

سکہ زد بر سیم و زر فضل سچا صاحب است
فتح گوبند سنگھ تیغ نانک واہب است

(Sikka zad bar seem wa zar fazl Sachchā Sāhib ast,
Fath Govind Singh Tegh Nānak wāhib ast.)

The historian says that the couplet was composed for this occasion. But he is ill informed. Ranjit Singh had retained this couplet from the earlier issues of Dal Khalsa of this very mint. It was being used there since V. S. 1845/1787 A.D. Likewise, the historian is wrong, when he says that the reverse of the coins had the name of Ranjit Singh along with the mint name. As a true Sikh, he honoured the edict of Sharbat Khalsa; he placed his name no where on the coins. Truly speaking, he placed his name on nothing; he gave his name to nothing. The inscription of this side is the same as was being from the time of the Mughals, viz.

جلوس میمنت مانوس سنہ ... دار السلطنت لاہور

Julus maimanat mānūs sanh. . . . Dārul -saltanat Lahore

The pipal-leaf symbol, seen on his coins, was also not his innovation. It was already in use on the Dal Khalsa coins of Amritsar mint.

Amritsar was the next to come under the hands of Ranjit Singh. Like Lahore, this city was also divided between a number of families, who had built fortresses in their quarters and had employed their armed tax-collectors. They constantly harrassed the residents and traders. Here too, the citizens sought protection from Ranjit Singh against the tyranny. And he readily came to their rescue and occupied the town. In the very first year of the occupation of the town (V. S. 1863) coins were issued with the following couplet on the obverse :

سکہ زد بر ہر دو عالم فضل سچا صاحب است
تخت تیغ گور[و] گوبند سنگ شاہ نانک واہب است

(Sikkā zad bar har do a'lam fazl Sachchā sāhib ast.

Takht tegh Gur(u) Gobind Singh Shāh Nānak wāhib ast.)

This couplet is a little different than that of Lahore coins. The inscription on the reverse is entirely new :

جلوس تخت اکال بخت ضرب شری امبرت سر جو

Jalus takht akalbakht jarb shri Ambratsar jiv.

Coins from both the mints, Lahore and Amritsar were issued year by year from the day they issued first till V. S. 1884. In that year a change was made at both the mints in dating the coins. The date V. S. 1884 was retained on the

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reverse as before but it was now freezed. The actual year of issue was shifted to obverse; there it was expressed only by the last two digits. This freezed date 1884 continued even after the death of Ranjit Singh for some years. While he was alive or perhaps soon after his death, a new freezed date 1885 was introduced. This new freezed date continued for a long time. No apparant reason is known for this new practice. It would be interesting if any research scholar of history of Ranjit Singh's period probes into its cause.

Amritsar coins faced a few short period departures. In the years V. S. 1869-70, the arrangement of the reverse inscription was a little changed; but it was not of any material consequence.

On a coin of V. S. 1874 Rodgers had noticed on the reverse a word of two lines within the word *Akāl*. He read it as *dar/Jhang* and assumed that the coin was issued from Jhang, the town situated close to the confluence of the rivers Chenab and Jhelum. For long this was the lone known coin and Rodgers' reading was blindly accepted. Recently another specimen of the same coin has surfaced at the Sheesh Mahal Museum, Patiala[5] and it is better preserved. Here on the top of the reverse the mint-name *Shri Ambratsar Jī* is quite clear and it leaves no doubt that these coins were minted, like the other coins, only at Amritsar and never from Jhang. A careful examination of the Sheesh Mahal Museum coin reveals that there is no *markaz* over the last letter of the word to identify it as *gāf* and to read the word as Jhang or the like. It may only be read as *Darjīt* or *Durjīt*, a personal name. Since this word is accommodated exactly where a symbol is placed on all the coins it may reasonably be assumed that it might be the name of some mint officer.

A few other coins of Amritsar mint are believed to have been issued during the time of Ranjit Singh. These coins bear twigs or spray which looks like . It is believed that it is an illusion of the bird peacock (*Mor*). And Mor or Moran was the name of the Kashmiri Muslim girl with whom Ranjit Singh was infatuated. These coins were issued to felicitate her. Hence these coins are known as *mora-kāñchan-shāhī* or simply *moran-shāhī*. This legend is so deeply rooted in the minds not only of the common people but also of the historians that none ever thought to probe into its reality.

Here it needs to be realised that even if it be the fact that Ranjit Singh was enamoured with this courtesan and he was trapped into this kind of idiocity, he would have issued such coins only from Lahore, where he had his seat and the lady resided and never from Amritsar. Only then the coins would have some meaning. But we need not go in any such idle thinking. These coins are known earliest dated in V. S. 1858; and at this date Ranjit Singh had not even entered into Lahore; what to say of his being Maharaja and holding any position to issue his coins. Again these coins continued till 1862 with two other modified forms of the symbol for the year 1862 and 1863; Ranjit Singh

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occupied Amritsar only towards the fag end of V. S. 1862 (February 1805 A.D.). It is thus evident that these coins did not belong to Ranjit Singh's time; and were issued during the period of Dal Khalsa. They might be the issues of some local chiefs, who used this symbol as his own to signify his own authority, whatever meaning he might have had in his mind.

A third mint of Ranjit Singh existed at Multan. Situated on the confluence of the rivers Ravi and Beas, it was the provincial town of the Mughals and they had a regular mint there. In the time of Aurangzeb, it was bestowed with the epithet *Dārul-āmān,* which was adopted on his coins and it was retained on the coins of all his successors. From them the Afghan had snatched it; later it was the bone of contention between the Afghan and the Sikhs. Ranjit Singh tried several times to occupy it and succeeded only in V. S. 1875/1818 A.D. It remained under him during his life and after him for some time. In the very first year of the occupation, coins were issued with the following couplet on the obverse :

دیگ و تیغ و نصرت بیدرنگ
از نانک یافت گورو گوبند سنگ

(*Degh wa tegh wa nasrat bedrang*

az Nānak yāft Guru Gobind Singh)

The reverse retained the Mughal formula along with the mint-*epithet Dārul-āmān.* But the regnal year was substituted with the *samvat* year and the pipal -leaf was added.

Kashmir was another mint of Ranjit Singh. It was an original hold of the Mughals; and from them it had passed into the hands of the Afghans. The Afghan administrators were so oppressive that to get rid of them, the people of that region had to appeal to Ranjit Singh to come to their rescue. Like Lahore and Amritsar, Ranjit Singh here too sent his forces and annexed the territory in V. S. 1875/1818 A.D. Being a distant land, he administered it through his governors. The following were the governors during his life :

1.	Diwan Misrachand	V. S. 1876/1819 A.D.
2.	Diwan Motiram	V. S. 1877/1820 A.D.
3.	Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa	V. S. 1877-78/ 1620-21 A.D.
4.	Diwan Motiram (Second time)	V. S. 1878-81/1822-27 A.D.
5.	Diwan Chunni Lal	V. S. 1882-83/1825-26 A.D.
6.	Diwan Kriparam	V. S. 1883-88/1826-31 A.D.
7.	Bhim Singh Ardali	V. S. 1888-89/1831-32 A.D.
8.	Sher Singh	V. S. 1889-90/1832-34 A.D.
9.	Col. Mehan Singh Kamdan	V. S. 1890 – /1834 – A.D.

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Coins were issued from here with the same couplet as was used on the coins of Multan mint. The inscription on the reverse varied from governor to governor; they also placed on this side their own symbols and / or initials. Then mint was called *Khittā Kashmir.* During the period of the governorship of Mehan Singh the mint-name is seen as *Akālpur Kashmir.* He perhaps also added his own name *Mehan Singh* on the reverse below the date. It is written in such a cursive way that it was being read as *Harji,* which carries no sense here. If we are correct in our assumption, then it may well be inferred that in doing so he might have thought of some sort of his own independence from the Lahore Darbar. This, nowever, needs further investigation before the suggestion is admitted.

The weight standard of the coins of all the mints, except Kashmir, remained unchanged the same; that was being followed in the country from the time of the Mughals. But at Kashmir, this standard was changed during the governorship of Hari Singh Nalwa. He introduced a new standard of lesser weight; he also debased the metal. These new coins were distinguished by the name of *chhotd rūpiyā.* This new coinage was the currency of Kashmir not only in the period of the Lahore Darbar but also under the Dogra rulers.

A few coins of Dera and Derajat are also known of the period of Ranjit Singh ; but there were no permanent mints. The coins of Dera (Dera Ghazi Khan) are known only of the year V. S. 1884/1827 A.D. Most likely, these coins were issued by the army to commemorate the occupation of the place. Likewise the coins of Derajat (the plains between the river Indus and the Sulaiman range) are known only of the years V. S. 1892 and 1893 and relate to the period when it was annexed. They may also be the commemoratives of the occupation. The inscriptions on the coins of both the places are very fragmentary; only a few words of the obverse couplet are available. These coins are not so far reported existing in any Indian collection.

Rodgers has mentioned coins of two other places. He has attributed some coins dated V. S. 1879 and 1880 to Akalgarh. He identified this place as the fortress situated on the river Indus, which controlled the crossing between Dera Ismailkhan on the right and Darya Khan on the left. He suggested the possibility of these coins having been issued to commemorate Ranjit Singh's occupation of Derajat. But the surviving portion on the coins is only *Śrī Akāl* and there is no reason to assume that the missing portion was only *garh*; it might equally be *pur.* The mint-name may also be Akālpur. While we have every doubt about the origin of these coins at Akalgarh, the fortress mentioned by Rodgers, the prefix *Shrī* before *Akāl* reminds us of *Shrī Akalpur,* the name that was given to Kashmir and known from the coins of that place. The dates on these coins are approximately close to the dates of those coins.

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The other place, suggested by Rodgers, as the mint-place of a solitary coin dated V. S. 1889 is Muzanga Achhra. He has identified it with a village of the same name, a suburb of Lahore. *Prima facie* there appears no reason for Ranjit Singh to mint from this insignificant hemlet when a flourishing mint was already operating under his control close by at Lahore. The existing portion of the mint-name on the coin does not support Rodgers' assumption. The coin is crudely executed; it could not be any issue of any official mint. A better specimen with the preserved mint name is necessary to ascertain the issue.

Coming to copper coins, we have no precedence in the period of Dal Khalsa. Coins of the early period of Ranjit Singh are also not known. The earliest coins, known of his period, are dated V. S. 1880/1822 A.D. In that year coins were issued from Lahore and Amritsar with the same Persian inscriptions that are seen on the silver coins; and they are, like the silver coins, nicely executed. They were most likely the official issues; but they did not continue for long. Lahore suspended their minting after V. S. 1881; Amritsar continued for a few years more. Copper coins with Persian inscriptions are also known of Multan, Peshawar, Dera and Derajat; but they are only few. Quite likely, like the silver ones, these were also commemoratives of the occupation of those places.

It seems the state mints did not take interest in coining copper; and it was left to *sarafs*. They were licenced to strike them on payment of some prescribed fee. But no information is available to know if there was any effective control on them. Most likely, these *sarafs* issued the coins with Gurmukhi inscriptions; they all are uniformly dated in V. S. 1885. They appear to have been issued only from Amritsar. These coins bear the inscription *Akāl Sahāi Guru Nānak Jī* on the observe and *Jarab Srī Ambratsar Jī* on the reverse. The date V.S. 1885 is seen freezed on the silver coins; and those silver coins have their regular dates beginning only from the closing years of Ranjit Singh. Since these copper coins have no other date on the other side, it would be more reasonable to assume that this might be the year, when these coins had their beginning; and it continued on the later dies without the change. The change of the date had no meaning either for the *sarāfs* or for the public.

The theoretical weight of the copper coins (most probably *paisā*) was 10 *māshās* (a little more than 10 grammes). The available coins are generally much worn and they in thier worn condition weigh about 11 grammes. In their mint state, they would have been still heavier. It seems there was no rigid weight restriction from the state. It was the matter between the *sarāfs* and the users. These coins went into transactions by usage and convention and no body bothered about the weight.

Besides *paisā*, the *coins* of *ānnā*, half-*ānnā*, and half *paisā* are also known.

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What is said here does not apply to Kashmir. It had its own copper coins, and they are varied so much in their contents, fabric and execution that it is very difficult to make out any sequence or chronology and to say which ones relate to the period of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

An intensive study and research about the copper coins is necessary to arrive at any historical conclusions.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. 1, 1881, pp 71-93.
2. Gupta, P. L. and Garg, S. *The Coins of Dal Khalsa & Lahore Darbar.* Published by the Government of Punjab (Department of Cultural Affairs, Archaeology, Museums & Archives).
3. The precedence of issuing coins in the name of Guru Nānak and Guru Govind Singh and not in any personal name was laid by Banda Bahadur, when he had issued coins by his own authority; and this was not followed by Jassa Singh. Banda Bahadur's coins have come to our knowledge only in the recent years (Deyel, J. S., *Numismatic Digest,* IV, i, 1989, pp. 59-67).
4. No coin issued by Jassa Singh has surfaced so far. So, Ganesh Das Vadehra had concocted a story in his *Tawārikh-i-Punjab,* the some Mullas and Maulvis of Lahore had got a few coins minted in the name of Jassa Singh and had sent them to Ahmad Shah at Lahore to alienate his feelings. But Kartar Singh Kalesawalia in his *Tegh-Khalsa* clearly says that the coins that were sent to Ahmad Shah were those that were issued by Jassa Singh himself and not by those Mullas and Maulvis. The non-availability of these coins is well explained if we realise, as Lapel Griffin has mentioned, the coins were withdrawn at the decision of the Sikh Community (Rajas of Punjab, p. 461). These coins are said to have the following inscription :

سکہ زد در جہان بفضل اکال
ملک احمد شاہ گرفت جسا کلال

(*Sikka zad dar jahan ba-fazl Akal,*
Mulk Ahmad Shah giraft Jassa Kalal.)

5. *Catalogue* (for full name see f.n. no. 2), Coin no. 470.

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PATIALA STATE COINAGE

Surinder Singh

The Phulkian or Cis-Sutlej States have emerged from the consolidation of land holdings of the descendants of Phul in mid-seventeenth century. These states of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot and Keythal were ruled by Malwa sardars, who were independent in the administration of their states, yet they stood on an altogether different footing than the Majha sardars across Sutlej. The sikh Misldars' in Rachna, Bari and Jullandhar Doabs refused to entertain any understanding with the mughal rulers and afghan invaders, inspite of repeated suggestions and inducements of Jagirs and share in booty.[1] Their spirit of fierce independence and deep rooted sikh ideology prevented them from accepting the overlordship of any authority other than that of their Gurus and the Khalsa panth. During 1783, when the Delhi city was administered by Sardar Bhagel Singh, it became near impossible for the court officials' to arrange a meeting between the Sardar and the emperor, because of Bhagel Singh's refusal to make a customary bow to the emperor, it being against the tenets of sikh religion[2]. Various protocols were waived in arranging a meeting between the Sardar and the Emperor at the time of Bhagel Singh's departure from Delhi in December 1783, in which mughal mace bearers and courtiers made the customary bows to the emperor on behalf of the Sardar[3].

On the other hand, the rajas of Patiala, the leading Cis-Sutlej state, would willingly present themselves and submit to the mughal rulers and afghan invaders, accept their overlordship, become their vassals and pay annual tributes and nazranas.[4] They never whole-heartedly joined the mainstream of sikh struggle against the tyranny of the mughals and invasions of the afghans. Whenever the Dal Khalsa tried to chastise them of their servile conduct they managed to save themselves through the good-offices of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia the strongest leader of the Majha Misls in those times, to whom both Ala Singh and Amar Singh paid a fixed annual tribute.[5]

Sikhs have been raiding Lahore and its suburbs at every opportunity and finally occupied it in 1765.[6] They issued coins in the name of their gurus as a symbol of their sovereignty[7]. Amar Singh, raja of Patiala also struck coins in 1767, called Durrani currency, because of its being in the name of Ahmad Shah Abdali.[8] The other Cis-Sutlej states also followed Patiala rulers and started striking Durrani coinage as vassals of the afghan ruler.[9] These states

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continued to strike Durrani coins even after the threat of an afghan invasion became totally non-existent. Nabha state broke away from this tradition sometimes around 1835 A.D. and started striking coins in the name of sikh Gurus,[10] while other Cis-Sutlej states continued to strike Durrani coins till the British currency became the prevalent currency during later half of eighteenth century and state currencies died their natural death due to excessive debasement and loss of value.

The house of Patiala was blessed by Sikh Gurus[11] but its rulers although being sikh sardars, had a somewhat diluted and superficial faith in the true spirit of the Khalsa and sikh ideology. Their dominant interest was self preservation and extension of their territories. They were oblivious to the concept of sikh sovereignty and coins being an essential symbol thereof. Phul's grandson Ala Singh became the chief on his father's murder in 1716. In a couple of years, he was able to avenge his father's murder, consolidate his position and took up his residence at Barnala in 1720, which had to be virtually rebuilt.[12]. Ala Singh further consolidated his position by subduing neighbouring chiefs and annexing Sanawar and other adjoining areas. He founded Patiala and built a mud-fort there in 1753[13]. By 1757 he was able to defeat neighbouring Batti chiefs and was looked upon as one of the rising sikh chiefs. Ala Singh fought his battles against the muslims as well as the sikhs. He joined sikhs against the muslims when it suited him and accepted the suzerainty of the mughals and afghans when it was in his interest to do so. In fact his religious fervor was greatly tempered by his political sagacity and avoidance of an unequal fight with the afghans.

Ala Singh had three confrontations with the afghans during the Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasions of India. In March 1761[14], when Ahmad Shah reached Sarhind, Ala Singh presented himself with costly gifts and promise to pay an annual tribute. Ahmad Shah received him warmly and awarded a role of Honour (Khilat). He also directed the Governor of Sarhind to consider Ala Singh's possessions as separate from his territories. The Sikhs who hated Mughals had no love for the Afghans. In fact, they had their own ambitions and could not resist the temptation of looting the immense baggage train of Ahmad Shah and harrass his troops on their return. As soon as Ahmad Shah turned his back, the Sikh started ravaging Panjab and defeated his army sent under Nur-ud-din and occupied Lahore. Ahmad Shah made his 6th invasion in Feb. 1762 and in a pitched battle killed about 20,000 sikhs near Barnala. Ala Singh who had infact vacilated in fighting for the sikhs was arrested by Ahmad Shah and was released on payment of ransom and promise to pay annual tribute.[15] But as soon as Abdali turned his back, sikhs again started harrassing his governors and looting their territories. In early 1774 sikhs reached Sarhind, killed Zen Khan, pulled down the fort and named the placed Fategarh Sahib.[16] Abdali in his seventh invasion in December 1764–March

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1765 saw Sarhind in total ruin. Ala Singh presented himself with costly presents and sought the Governorship of Sirhind[17]. Ahmad Shah realising the inability of muslim Governors to resist Sikh attacks, conferred on Ala Singh, Khilat, kettle drums, banners and installed him as an independent chief of Sarhind for an annual subsidy of 3½ lakhs. Ala Singh died soon thereafter on 22 August, 1765.[18] He was succeeded by his grandson Amar Singh.

In March 1767, Ahmad Shah again reached Sarhind and called for Amar Singh and after receipt of tribute granted him a role of honour, subedari of Sarhind and a superlative title of Raja-e-Rajagan.[18] The rulers of Patiala were authorised to mint Durrani coins, as a privilege of their being independent chiefs.[19] There is, however, a difference of opinion amongst the historians as to whether coins were initially struck by Ala Singh in 1765 or by Amar Singh, in 1767. The study of Cis-Sutlej states coinage was initially carried out by General R. C. Taylor, agent to the Lt. Governor of Cis-Sutlej states in 1869 and the same has been relied upon by Lepel Griffin[20] and Patiala state authorities.[21] These authorities consider that Patiala state mint was established under orders of Ahmad Shah Abdali and initial coins were struck by Maharaja Amar Singh in 1767. It has been mentioned in Hussain Shahi that coins of Ahmad Shah are current in the family of Amar Singh at Patiala and whoever succeeds to the throne issues the same coin and considers himself a subject of Durrani emperor.[22] The Hussain Shahi account written in 1798 within thirty years of the initial issues and it making no mention of Ala Singh for striking of the coins lends support to the view that coins were initially struck by Amar Singh.

R. C. Taylor make a passing reference to a passage in Patiala reports that coin was struck in 1820 S. i.e. 1763 A.D.[23] This date does not seem to be historically correct as Ala Singh first came in contact with Ahmad Shah in 1761 in which he was just given a role 'Khilat' for the nazrana paid by him. In 1762, he was arrested and could escape with lot of effort and payment of tribute. His next contact with Ahmad Shah was in 1765 and hence, he could not have got permission to mint coins in 1763 A.D. and we may safely reject the same. Sayad Mohammad Hasan Khan ex-prime minister Patiala has stated in 1877 A.D. that Ahmad Shah bestowed the title of Raja-i-Rajgan on Amar Singh in 1767 and permitted him to strike Durrani coins.[24] Gian Singh also shares that above view of Amar Singh having struck coins in 1767 at the behest of Ahmad Shah.[25] Hari Ram Gupta who has done the most detailed and analytical study of sikh history during 18th century does not mention any coins have been struck by Ala Singh and gives the account of coins struck by Amar Singh.[26]

R. C. Temple also carried out a study of Cis-Sutlej coinage in around 1880. He has asserted that Ala Singh after his arrest by Ahmad Shah Abdali

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in 1762, was given in title of Raja in 1762. He is also stated to have destroyed and annexed Sarhind and was finally created chief of the area by Ahmad Shah. The right to coin was given by Ahmad Shah to Phulkian states in his time and local bankers of Patiala attribute certain coins to have been struck by Raja Ala Singh.[27] R. C. Temple is not correct in the above assessment in as much as Ala Singh could barely escape from Ahmad Shah by paying heavy tribute in 1762 and the conquest of Sarhind was primarily carried out by Dal Khalsa and the Subedari of Sarhind was given to Ala Singh in 1765 when Ahmad Shah saw the town in complete ruins. The assertion that local bankers and 'sarafs' stated certain coins to have been struck by Ala Singh cannot be relied upon as authentic evidence as there is neither any date nor any distinctive symbol thereon. The 'Kalghi' symbol attributed to Ala Singh has also been the symbol of Amar Singh.[28] Gurbachan Singh Nayyar has also stated that coin was struck by Ala Singh citing reference to Hari Ram Gupta.[29] The views of Hari Ram Gupta, as already mentioned above, support the view that Amar Singh struck coins in 1767. The Patiala state govt. made a detailed note on the state mint and have accepted the view expressed by Taylor and have not made any mention of R. C. Temple's view even when the same was known to them.[30] Taking into account the various historical accounts we are inclined to agree with the view that Amar Singh initiated the Durrani currency in 1767 and not Ala Singh, till such times that some specific evidence contrary to the above view is located.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh while consolidating his position in early nineteenth century made incursions in Cis-Sutlej territories during 1806 to 1808.[31] The rulers of Cis-Sutlej States became suspicious of his intentions, placed themselves under the suzerainty and protection of the British.[32] They gave assistance to the British in 1857[33] movement and also during the world wars [34] and were treated with favourable consideration by the British till the country's independence in 1947. Patiala rupee has been known as Raja Shahi Rupee. It has been three fourth of an inch in diameter and weighed $11\frac{1}{8}$ to $11\frac{1}{4}$ mashas. It was of pure silver. Patiala rupee weighed 5 rattis less than company's rupee but the silver content of both was the same and consequently Patiala rupee fetched full 16 annas as its value.[35] The bankers (sarafs) in the British territories subjected these rupees to arbitrary discounts. The Patiala Gold Mohar weighed $10\frac{3}{4}$ mashas and was of pure Gold. No copper coins were struck in Patiala. Half and Quarter rupees have also been struck during Maharaja Karam Singh's time.

10. The inscription on the coins both gold and silver has been

Obverse : حکم شد از قادر بیچون باحمد بادشاہ

سکہ زن بر سیم و زر از اوج ماهی تا بماہ

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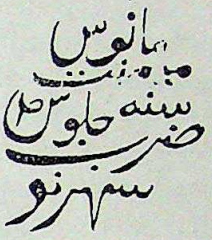
HOKAM SHOD AZ QADIR BE-CHUN BE-AHMAD BADSHAH
SIKKAH ZAN BAR SIM WA ZAR AZ AUJ MAHI TA BE-MAH.

Reverse : 

MANUS
MAIMANAT
JULUS SANAH 4
ZARB
SAHRIND

The English translation thereof is

"The order of the God, the peerless, to Ahmad Badshah; strike coin on silver and gold from earth to heaven". "In the presence favoured by high fortune. Mint Sarhind." The inscription being long and the die being large as compared to the coin, only a small portion of the legend has come on the coins. The absence of dates on most of the coins, the similar legend on all coins of the various Cis-Sutlej states, the mint town Sarhind shown on all coins from various mints and there being no names of the rulers on these coins make it very difficult to decipher them. Only marks attributed to various rulers, as have come down to us through the local bankers etc. have so far been used to decipher these coins popularly called Kotla coins.

The process of coining all over India had remained unchanged for centuries.[36] Metals of certain purity were made in bars. These bars are cut into pieces of equal width and thereafter weighed. The excess was chipped off and deficiency was punched on the pieces.[37] These pieces were then flattened to the required size.[38] The practice of casting bars of the size of the rupee was an improvement whereby the flattening of the pieces got eliminated. The pieces were then placed between the two dies and hammered whereby the impresion was imprinted on both sides of the coins.[39] With experience and constant practice the workers had developed an expertise to cut the pieces of almost exact weight and the hammerman gave such calculated blows that almost identical impressions were struck on the coins.

The Patiala mint was no exception and it was supervised by a Superintendent, a mohurrier, two testers, one weigher, 10 black smiths, 2 coiners, 4 refiners of metal and one engraver.[40] The metals were refined carefully and brought to the standard of gold and silver kept as specimen in the mint. The metal brought by private parties was coined at the rate of rupees 24 per 100 gold coins and one rupee one anna for 100 silver coins out of which about two-third went to the state and rest as establishment and miscellaneous charges. Although the Patiala state could strike 2000 coins per day, in actual practice the striking of the coins was done on special occasions or when

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actually required. The currency was generally confined to the area of the state, but it was also used in the neighbouring areas.[41]

The Patiala currency started depreciating in Raja Sahib Singh's time and this depreciation went on till in 1892, when the minting of Patiala coins was stopped.[42] In the year 1893 Govt. of India stopped striking of silver rupees in their mints and had directed the native states on 20-11-1893 not to coin silver rupees for six months, in order to avoid fluctuations in the exchange rate of their coins.[43] The Patiala state had already closed their mint, primarily due to its steep depreciation and had adopted the Government of India rupees as legal tender. During their regime of Maharaja Rajinder Singh from 1933 Sambat to 1949 Sambat i.e.1876 to 1892 A.D. 45,498.67 rupees were coined before the closing of the mint which comes to about two and a half lakhs per annum, which comes to about 125 days work for the state mint during the course of a year.[44]

Efforts were made to remodel the Patiala mint on various occasions with a view to increase its revenue as well as to enhance the state prestige and bring it at par with other native states having their own coinage. But these exercises were finally dropped primarily due to financial restraints. The various such attempts are mentioned in the note regarding Patiala currency. The first attempt was made in 1851[45] at the Viceregal Darbar to change the Abdali legend to that of Queen Victoria. In 1914, another attempt was made to resurrect the state mint. Comparative study of Alwar and Bikaner currency was made who were getting their coins minted at Govt. of India mints and their rupee was legal tender throughout British India. About two lakhs annual income was also calculated but no final action was taken. Another futile attempt was made in 1919[46] and the latest reference thereon is dated 13-6-1922 and thereafter no action seems to have been taken to revive the Patiala mint.

The various rulers who ruled Patiala are stated as under :—

Sr. No.	Name	Years	Symbol
1.	Raja Ala Singh 1729-1765 AD/1786-1822 S	36 years	Kalghi
2.	Raja Amar Singh 1765-1781 AD/1822-1838 S	16 years	Kalghi
3.	Maharaja Sahib Singh 1781-1813 AD/1838-1870 S	32 years	Kalghi or Double edged sword
4.	Maharaja Karam Singh 1813-1845 AD/1870-1902 S	32 years	straight sword, a kalghi of different ornamentation.

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Sr. No.	Name	Years	Symbol
5.	Maharaja Narindra Singh 1845-1862 AD/1902-1919 S	17 years	Spear head or Kattar
6.	Maharaja Mahindra Singh 1862-1876 AD/1919-1933 S	14 years	Dagger or halberd
7.	Maharaja Rajindra Singh 1876-1900 AD/1933-1957 S	24 years	Katar
8.	Maharaja Bhupindra Singh 1900-1938 AD/1957-1994 S	38 years	Arrow head and a rifle.
9.	Maharaja Yadvindra Singh 1938-1948 AD/1994-2005 S	10 years	

The Patiala State acceded to the Union of India in 1948 A.D.

R.C. Tample states that Ala Singh struck coins in 1765 and his symbol was Kalghi or aigrette plume on the basis of views expressed by the local bankers. Other historians dispute the same. Ala Singh was succeeded by his grandson Amar Singh who was a great soldier and made Patiala the most powerful of Cis-Sutlej state, his symbol was also Kalghi. Amar Singh was succeeded by his six years old son Sahib Singh. The state went under the suzerainty of the British. Sahib Singh developed an imbecile character and an eccentric nature due to which the state suffered a lot. R. C. Temple states that his symbol was also Kalghi but the Patiala state note states the same to be double edged sword. Sahib Singh was succeeded by his son Karam Singh. He assisted British in their fight against Lahore Darbar at Farozeshah. His coins are represented by a double handed sword or a different type of Kalghi. Narindra Singh succeeded his father Karam Singh in 1845 A.D. He was a capable ruler. He assisted the British in 1857 upheaval with men and material and was granted certain territories. His mark was a spear head as stated by R. C. Temple but Patiala State note calls it Katar. He was succeeded by his son Mahindra Singh in 1876 A. D. He did not carry out any remarkable work in his 14 years role. R. C. Temple calls his mark as 'halberd' but Patiala state note calls it a dagger.

Rajindra Singh succeeded his father Mahindra Singh in 1876 A. D. According to R. C. Temple he was represented by his mark of Katar but the Patiala State note is silent thereon. The coin at Sr. No. 15 is a gold coin specially struck and presented to R. C. Temple. The coin at Sr. No. 18 has been shown by C. J. Rodgers in his article "Coins of Ahmad Shah Abdali," is actually a coin of Rajindra Singh and seems to be some presentation coin as it bears the entire legend which does not appear on normal coins for regular issue. The date thereon is not clear and cannot be deciphered. The Durrani Patiala State coinage, the Raja Shahi rupees was discontinued in about 1893,[47] which had greatly depreciated and the British Government rupee was

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adopted as the legal tender in the state. Maharaja Rajindra Singh died at an early age of 28 years being addicted to alcohol.

Maharaja Bhupinder Singh succeeded his father Rajindra Singh and ruled Patiala from 1900 to 1938. He was a very capable and highly educated but his life style was very lavish and extravagant and the state fell into perpetual financial difficulties.[48] He was a large hearted ruler who desired to do every thing in an unmatched regal style. He was most adept in keeping the British authorities in good humour by his loyalty, extravagant entertainments and assistance in war efforts. The British rulers ignored his draw-back, but had to place a financial expert Sir Fredrich Gaunttet ex-accountant General as his finance minister to restore the fast decaying economy of the state.[49] He was very fond of celebrating Dussehra and Diwali festivals in regal style and used to offer gold and silver coins specially minted on these occasions for puja and distribution to his household and the state officials.[50] The exact date of the start of these coins could not be ascertained due to complete record being not available with the Punjab State Archives. The tradition of distribution of nazrana coins continued even after his death by his son and successor Maharaja Yadvindra Singh. Being the most important sikh ruler after the fall of Lahore Darbar the Abdali legend was dropped and sikh legend was taken on these puja coins which have been called "Guru Sahib coins." Regular correspondence exists over the assessment of the requirement by Sardar Sahib Deodhi Mualla. Tenders were called for, from the various sarafs, and by and large the work of minting of these coins was awarded to Bajramal Bhagirath Mal and Ch. Abdul Hakim, who were perhaps the leading 'Sarafs'. The coins which remain undistributed were melted and recast next year when the prices of gold and silver had increased abnormally.[51] The last such like correspondence is a letter No. 957 dated 22.8.1943 AD from Sardar Sahib Deodhi Mualla addressed to the Finance Minister in which it has been stressed that coins once used in pooja by the august master could not be reused again, the same being violative of the shastras. It was also stressed that reduction in coins for various ceremonies would also amount to reduction in 'Sarishtas'.[52] Thus it is evident that the ceremonies continued to be performed by Maharaja Yadvindra Singh,[52] till the accession of the state to the union of India.

There are with the Sheesh Mahal Museum Patiala about a dozen Gold coins and about 1500 silver coins. Recently an examination of the large number of sikh coins in Sheesh Mahal Museum has been carried out by Parmeshwari Lal Gupta and Sanjay Garg under the aegis of the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Anjaneri, Nasik. They have drawn up a catalogue of the coins of Dal Khalsa and Lahore Darbar on behalf of Govt. of Panjab. They have shown some coins as "problematic coins".[53] The rulers of Patiala although sikhs by religion, have also been conducting certain

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pujas during Dussehra and Diwali etc. They have been using both gold and silver coins specially minted for these occasions as is abundantly clear from the state records. The mark of an arrow head appears to be of Maharaja Bhupinder Singh in his early years and that of a rifle during his later years presumably after world war I. The readily available coins pertain to 1958, 1993, 1994 Sambat i.e. 1901, 1936, 1937 A.D., all pertaining to his period. Hans Herlli has shown the coin at Sr. No. 17 with rifle mark as pertaining to Yadvindra Singh[54]. He is apparently incorrect as coins for the year 1993 S i.e. 1936 A.D. also have rifle mark and Yadvindra Singh could not have struck any such coins in 1936 & 1937 A. D. during the life times of his father Bhupindra Singh. Hans Herlli is also not correct in treating a somewhat similar coin as pertaining to Narendra Singh dating it 1849 or 1852 A.D. i.e. 1906 or 1909 Sambat.[55] The same coin is struck in Arabic script and bears complete resemblance to Nabha coins which are available in plenty and is prima facie a Nabha state coin wherein the name of the mint town having not come thereon.

The theory that dual coinage was used by Ala Singh to appease the Durrani as well the Dal Khalsa as proposed by Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, is apparently a fanciful assertion against definite evidence available with Panjab State Archives. Watter Hamilton's suggestion that these coins were connected with religious ceremonies established and endorsed from Government records and coins with the Govt. museum. No such coins are forthcoming from the local 'sarafs' which further establishes that these coins were not legal tenders and were used for Pooja purposes only. It is presumed that after Pooja these coins were placed back with the treasury officer and money equivalent reimbursed to the religion authorities, as these coins have been melted and reminted afresh for Pooja year after year whereby the religious ceremonies continued to be carried out with fresh coins every year. The coins available with the Sheesh Mahal Museum are in mint condition. These facts clearly establish that these coins are no longer problematic ones, but have been the nazarana coins used by the Patiala rulers for puja etc. as distinct from the state currency and were not regular issues for public use. There being no mention of Guru Sahib Coins in the note on Patiala State Currency also establishes that these coins were only for the personal use of the ruler during Dussehra and Diwali Pooja ceremonies and not as State issues for general use.

DESCRIPTION OF REPRESENTATIVE COINS OF THE RULERS OF PATIALA STATE.

COINS OF ALA SINGH : R. C. Temple has shown some coins pertaining to Ala Singh but it stands established that Patiala Coinage was commenced by his successor Amar Singh.

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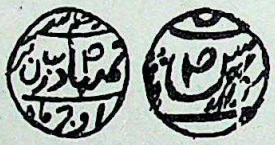
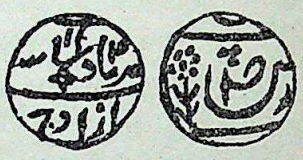
COINS OF AMAR SINGH

1. Obverse, legend, (ج) لم شد (با) محمد بادشاه (ه) زن بر سر (سیم) اوج (ه) ماه (سی)
   mark, م over باحمد
   Reverse, legend, (ضرب (جلو) س (میمنه) ت (مانی) س
   mark, after س in جلوس and between و and س.
2. Obverse, legend, (باد) در بادشاه (ه) سرکی از اوج
   mark, م over احمد after, د of بادشاه
   Reverse, legend, (ضرب (جلو) س م (میمنه) ت
   mark after س of جلوس and over م.
   part of the border has also come on the coin.

1. 
2. 

COINS OF SAHIBS SINGH. No clear coin bearing the double edged sword has come to notice. The coin shown by R. C. Temple as pertaining to Sahib Singh does not bear the said mark. It is also disputed as to whether his mark was double edged sword or kalghi as has been in the case of his predecessors.

COINS OF KARAM SINGH.

3. Obverse, legend, (ج) لم شد از (بیچون) ان باد (شاه) زن بر سیم (م)
   mark, ص over ک of بادشاه
   Reverse, legend, (ضرب (ج) لوس (میمنه) ت (مانی) س -
   mark, after س of جلوس and ص between س and
   between و and س.
   this coin also bears the date 80 i.e. 1880 S or 1827 A.D.
4. Obverse, legend and mark are the same as on coin No. 3.
   Reverse, legend and the mark are the same as on coin No. 3, but this coin the date 1894 S i.e. 1837 A.D.
5. Obverse, legend, and the mark are the same as on coin No. 3.
   Reverse, legend and the mark are the same as on coin No.3 but this coin does not bear any date.

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6. Obverse, legend, بادشاه زن بر
mark, nil.

Reverse, legend, (ضرب) (جلوس) (میمنت)
mark, is the same as on the coin No. 3.

7. Obverse, legend, (کلام) (شد) (ازل) (حمد) (میمنت) (زن) (بر) (سه)
mark, no special mark is there.

Reverse, legend and the mark are the same as on the reverse of coin No. 6.

The coins No. 6 and 7 are half rupee or 8 annas coins. These appear to have been struck with the rupee dies and hence even lesser legends have come on these coins. The mark on the reverse is clearly that of Karam Singh.

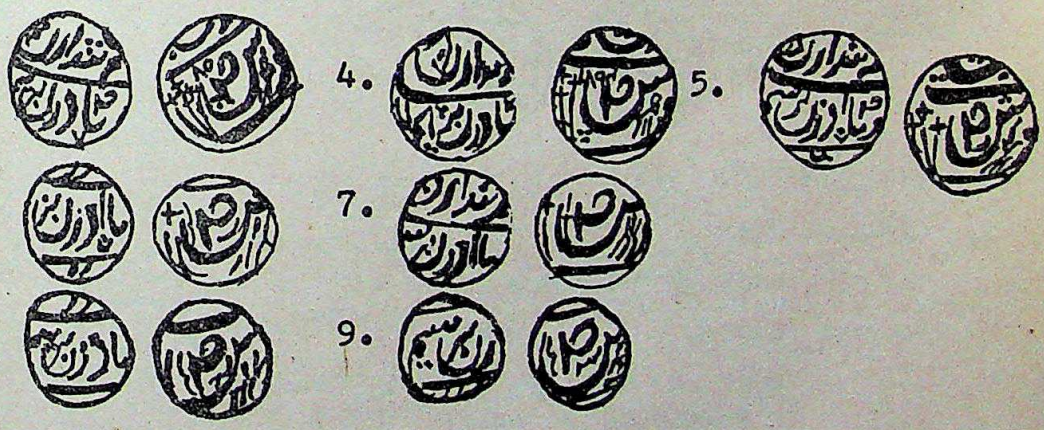
8. Obverse, legend and mark, بادشاه زن بر (سیم) no mark

Reverse, legend and mark, (ضرب) (جلوس) (میمنت) before, و.

9. Obverse, legend and mark, the same as on coin No. 7.

Reverse, legend and mark, (جلوس) and before س.

The coins at No. 8 and 9 are quarter rupee or four annas coins. The quarter rupee coins also seem to be struck with the rupee coins dies and the legends have come to a very small extent. The metal contents are about three and three quarter mashas.



COINS OF NARENDRA SINGH

10. Obverse, legend, (باد) (حد) بادشاه زن بر (اوج) (ماه) (ای)
mark, ص over باد

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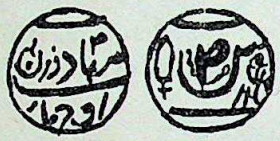
Reverse, legend, (ضرب (جلوس) میمنت) ت -

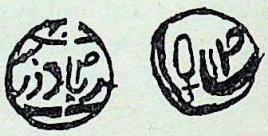
mark, م in س and ||| between و and س and ♀ spearhead mark.

11. Obverse, legend and mark, ب (کتر) (تاج) (بگاه) (شاه) (ذوالجلال) (سه) (سیم)

Reverse, legend and mark, (جلوس) ش inside ♀ mark.

The above coin is a quarter rupee coin and the only one of its type located from about ten thousand Kotla with Sheesh Mahal Museum.

10. 

11. 

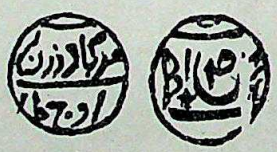
COINS OF MAHENDRA SINGH.

12. Obverse, legend, (باد) در باد (شاه) زن بر اوج ما (یی)

mark, م over باد

Reverse, legend (ضرب) میمنت (جلوس) ش

mark, م in س and B halberd mark on the left and ✠ under س.

12. 

COINS OF RAJINDRA SINGH.

13. Obverse, legend, (باد) در باد (شاه) زن زاوج مایی -

mark, ✠ under مایی

Reverse, legend, (ضرب) (جلوس) (میمنت) ت (سر) هند -

mark, katar م and ✠ star under س and between و and س.

This coin is quite worn out and in bad shape.

14. Obverse, legend, same as on coin No. 13 with over

Reverse, legend, same as on coin No. 13, except having not come on the coin.

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15. Obverse, legend, حکم شد (ی) سکه باد (شاه) زون بر سیم -
mark, nil
Reverse, legend, ضرب (ه) ... (ا) ... (ت) (مانوس)
mark, katar, ص in س and between و and س.

13. 14 15.

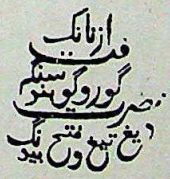
COINS OF BHUPINDRA SINGH.

16. Obverse, legend, دیگ تیغ فتح نصرت بیدرنگ - یافت از نانک گورو گوبند سنگه -
mark, nil
Reverse, legend, ضرب (ه) ... (ا) ... (ت) (مانوس) ... -
mark, arrowhead and date 58 i.e. 1958 S or 1901 A.D.

17. Obverse, legend and the mark are the same as on coin No. 16.
Reverse, legend, same as on coin No. 16.
mark, rifle and the date 94 i.e. 1994 S or 1937 A.D.

16. 17.

Obverse :



Reverse :

18. The presentation coin of Rajindra Singh shown by C. J. Rodgers as figure no. 17 of his article "Coins of Ahmad Shah Abdali" with complete legends.

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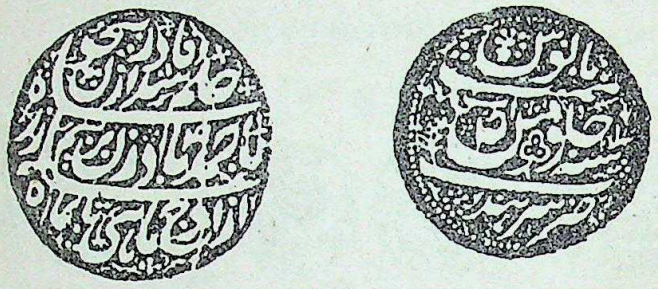
19. Drawing of a die used in striking Kotla coins.



Note :–The drawings at serial No. 10, 12, 14, 15, 18 and 19 are taken from R.C. Temple's drawings. The rest of the drawings are from photographs taken from the coins collection at Sheesh Mahal Museum Patiala.

ANNEXURE A

Note regarding Patiala Currency

AUTHORITY *FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PATIALA MINT*

The mint of Patiala State was established by order of Ahmad Shah Abdali in the year 1767 A.D. when Patiala State was ruled by Maharaja Amar Singh.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF PATIALA CURRENCY

The Patiala rupee was known as the Rajashahi rupee; it was of an inch in circumference weighed $11\frac{1}{8}$ Mashas and was of pure silver. The Patiala Gold Mohar weighed $10\frac{3}{4}$ Mashas and was of pure gold. No copper coin was struck in Patiala.

The inscription on the gold and silver coins was the same. On one side it was inscribed :—

حکم شد از قادرِ بیچوں با حمد بادشاہ ۔ کہ زن بر سیم و زر اوجِ ماہی تا بہ ماہ ۔

On the other side the inscription was :—

جلوس میمنت مانوس ۔ ضرب سرہند ۔

The translation of which is "The order of God the peerless to Ahmad Badshah : strike coin on Gold and Silver from earth to heaven", (this is the real meaning of the passage actual words are "From the height, of the Fish to the Moon)." In the presence favoured of high fortune, the Sarhind coin."

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The inscription on the coin remained unchanged but certain alterations were made in the marks to mark the reign of each Chief (Maharaja Amar Singh's rupee was distinguished by the representation of Kalghi; Maharaja Sahib Singh's by that of a saif (two edged sword), Maharaja Karam Singh's had a Shamsheer on his coin Maharaja Narinder Singh's coin had a kattar (straight sword) and Maharaja Mohinder Singh's rupee was distinguished by a Dagger).

The Mint was supervised by a Superintendent with an establishment of a Moharris, two Testers, one weigher, 10 Blacksmiths, 2 Coiners, 4 Refiners of Metal and one Engraver. The metals were refined carefully and brought up to standard of the gold and silver kept as specimens in the mint; these were tested and then coined. Metals brought by individuals was coined at the following rates :—

Silver	1 Rupee one anna per hundred coins of which the state. got —10/6 and —6/6 went to the establishment.
Gold	24 Rupees per hundred coin State 17/2/6 Establishment dues 1/2/—Miscellaneous expenses 5-11-6.

The annual out turn of the coin was uncertain and coin was struck either on special occasions or when wanted. From the years 1933 B to 1949 B 45,498.67 rupees were coined at the Patiala Mint represent on an average approximately rupees 2½ lacs annually. The Rajashashi rupee was legal tender in the State territory.

PROPOSAL TO REMODLE THE PATIALA COIN AND MAKING IT A LEGAL TENDER IN BRITISH INDIA.

On the occasion of Viceregal Durbar held at Pinjore by Lord Dalhousi in 1851. His Highness Maharaja Narinder Singh requested to His Lordship orally and in writing for permission to remodle his coin by substituting the inscription of Ahmad Shah Abdali by that of queen Victoria and making the Patiala coin legal tender in British India. The papers regarding this question are unfortunately not traceable in the Office, but it appears no definite answer was given by the Government.

In the year 1869 Major General R. C. Taylor C. S., C. S. I., Agent to the Lt. Governor General Cis-Sutlej States wrote a Robkar to the Patiala Vakil at Ambala at the instance of the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India to supply information on certain aspects of the Patiala Mint viz :—

1. Political condition.
2. Nature, title and character of the coinage.

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3. The annual turn out of the establishment, and the value of the coinage as compared with that of the British Government.

4. The process of Manufacture and any particulars as to the artificers employed.

5. The arrangements for receiving bullion and the charges (if any) levied for its conversion into coins.

6. The area of its circulation.

While forwarding the required information H. H. the Maharaja Mohinder Singh Sahib Mohinder Bahadur reiterated the request made by his father the late Maharaja Narinder Singh referred to above and requested him to obtain and communicate Government's sanction in this behalf.

In reply the Agent Cis-Sutlej states intimated in his Murasela dated 22-12-1877 that "His Honour the Lt. Governor Punjab quite concurs with the Ist proposal of your Highness. As regards the 2nd question viz. making of Patiala rupee legal tender in British India. His Honour thinks it would required sanction of the Governor General in Council who it is feared would not acquiesce in the proposal. But if your Highness so propose that the Patiala coins should be struck in the Government coin in respect of purity and value then there is every probability of the public expecting it like Government coin. This will also reduce the cost incurred in the present mode of preparation of the coin in the Patiala Mint. I am therefore, to inquire whether this proposal commends itself to Your Highness".

The Patiala State instead of availing of this opportunity declined the offer on the ground of the proposal involving inconvenience and embarrassment.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA UNDERTAKES TO MINT COPPER COINS FOR THE STATE.

Two years later the Patiala State was informed by the Agent to the Lt. Governor General Cis-Sutlej States in his Murasalas dated 29-8-1871 that the Government of India has thrown open its mint to the Native States for the copper coinage on a charge of one rupee per one thousand coins if copper be supplied by the states. In the case otherwise the cost of the copper at the market rate will be taken from them. The Patiala State availed of this concession in the year 1882 when copper coins valuing rupees 50000 were purchased from the Government of India. Subsequent to this supply the concession was withdrawn by the Government of India but no protest was made by the State.

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THE PASSING OF THE NATIVE COINAGE ACT NO. IX OF 1876 BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

In the year 1876 the Government of India passed an act called the Native Coinage Act No. IX of 1876. The object of the Act was to enable the Government of India to declare certain coins of Native State to be legal tender in British India but no action was taken under it with regard to any Native State in the Punjab till many years afterwards.

In the year 1893 the Government of India stopped the striking of silver coins in their Mints and asked the Native States in the Punjab not to coin rupees in their Mints on a large scale for a priod of 6 months to avoid fluctuation in the exchange ratio of their coins with that of the Government during the time the laters mint is closed. This circular was also forwarded by the Chief Secretary Punjab Government, to the Patiala Motmid under cover of his D. O. letter No. ------dated 20th November, 1893.

STOPPING THE COINAGE OF RAJASHAHI RUPEE AND THE ADOPTION OF GOVT. RUPEE AS LEGAL TENDER IN THE STATE :

But the Patiala State had already, discussed the situation arising out this policy of the Government and at the recommendation of its senior Ministers stopped the further coinage of Rajashahi rupee which had already very much depreciated till further orders and adopted the Government rupee as legal tender in the State and issued orders telegraphically to the Departments concerned for compliance. The Chief Secretary was, therefore, informed in reply through the State Motamid that the coining of Rupees had already been stopped in the Patiala mint. These orders were never subsequently revoked. Only this much relaxation was made by then Prime Minister at the suggestion of the then Foreign Minister that rupees may be coined for those who may ask for them on levy of usual charges but these shall not be acceptable in Government transaction. The Gold coins were struck as usual and there was no prohibition for them.

R. B. SIRDAR CHIRANJI LAL'S SUGGESTION FOR THE REVIVAL OF THE STATE MINT

This case remained lying for about 2 decades without any further action being taken. In the year 1914 R. B. Sirdar Chiranji Lal the then Accountant General revived the question and wrote to then Foreign Minister a detailed letter. The letter concludes from the perusal of the Act enclosed Native coinage Act IX of 1876 it is quite evident that the Government never intended to stop the currency of the State rupees. It was only this that the Government imposed certain limitations as to fineness and weight of the rupee. It can safely be said that the Act provides, on the contrary that the Government of India undertakes to Mint silver sent by a Native State.

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The requirements of the State and its subjects have increased many times with those that existed when the Mint was opened for the public in the thirties and forties. It is only proper that the question be taken up in right earnest and pressed through. The States of Alwar and Bikaneer get their rupees Minted at the Government Mints and their rupee is a legal tender throughout British India. A copy of agreement with the Alwar State is appended I have not been able to get one with the Bikaneer State. I have got Alwar and Bikaneer rupees and can be produced whenever wanted. If the Government is influenced to Mint Patiala rupees to the extent of 10 lacs a year it will bring a permanent income to the State of at least of 2 lacs annually beside having our own coin."

RAJA SIR DAYA KISHAN KAUL EX PRIME MINISTER'S VIEWS.

For 3 years no action appears to have been taken until in July 1919 the Ex Prime Minister Raja Bir Daya Kishan Kaul took up the matter. It was observed by the Prime Minister "there is nothing on this file to prevent the Patiala Government resorting to either of the two following measures :—

1. to mint their own coin subject to the provision of the Government of India.

2. to ask the Government of India to Mint coins for the State by supplying the metal, under the provisions of the Native Coinage Act IX of 1876 which, I take it still holds good as it has not been repealed with a population of 15 lacs and an annual expenditure Budget to nearly 1¼ crore of rupees it will be only very reasonable if we asked the Government of India for minting for us upto :—

   (a) Rs. ten lac worth of rupees and smaller silver coins.

   (b) Rs. fifty thousands worth of copper coins.

   (c) Rs. ten thousand sovereigns.

In every year, according to our requirement the fixing of which should be left to our discretion. We can suggest our design for the obverse and reverse of each coin.

The Accountant General might be consulted about the quantities of each description of coin referred to above and then an Arzdasht should be submitted to His Highness with a draft letter to the Political Agent, for reference to Government of India, for His Highness' approval".

After this the matter again seems to have been neglected and for about many years nothing practically has been done in this most important case. The Accountant General who was written in confirmity to Ex Prime Minister's

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orders states that the Prime Minister's note dated 15-7-19 will suffice to carry on cash transaction in the State viz. –

Silver coins worth	Rs.	10,00,000
Copper coins worth	Rs.	40,000
Gold coins worth	Rs.	1,60,000

S. Sunder Singh Ex. A.G.'s opinion.

But he adds that Gold coin is not legal tender in India and as the price of sovereign is always subject to market fluctuation it will pay little to the State.

The Accountant General's reply is dated 13-6-22 and no subsequent orders have been passed.

This is in brief the history of this important case which if I may be permitted to say has not been seriously tackled in the past. Since the Mint was closed not only has the population of the State increased but the number of transactions for which actual money is used have increased enormously. Statistics have been collected by the Government of India reg. the number of rupees in circulation during the last thirty years and it will not be out of place to cite them here as giving an idea of the requirements of our state with a population of nearly 15 lacs.

Year	Population	Rupees issued from mints upto
1890	28,73,14,671	308.83 Crore
1900	29,43,61,056	438.30 Crore
1910	31,51,56,396	466.81 Crore
1920	31,89,42,480	646.84 Crore
1922	31,87,42,480	647.55 Crore

subsidiary coinage have also been issued during great war. The most remarkable phenomenon, however, is the continued rise in the note issue of the Government of India. The profits reaped by the Government of India from the currency and Mint stand at a colossal figure of 3.99 crores annually.

The question has a political aspect also Money as an expression of sovereignty is a cherished privilege of autonomous states, and many States should like to cling on to it even in their mints be working at a loss.

The case was also put up to S. D. K. Sen at Delhi and he was of opinion that there is no encroachment by the Government of India in this case and the State retains the right of have its own currency.

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The case is worth being taken up by the surplus Committee and requires being thrashed in all its aspects before being taken up with the Government of India.*

* The above unsigned note is a carbon copy of the note prepared in nineteen twenties, is in the bundle containing about a dozen files on Patiala state Mint with Finance Department Patiala State Records in Panjab State Archives Patiala. The original note and further action thereon could not be traced.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Hari Ram Gupta, History of the Sikhs, Delhi, 1978.
   Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Vol.II p. 134 and Vol. IV p. 464.
2. Hari Ram Gupta, op. cit., Vol. III pp. 169
3. Ibid., p. 170.
4. Lepel Griffin, The Rajas of Panjab, Language Deptt. Panjab 1970 p. 26, Hari Ram Gupta, op. cit. , Vol IV. p. 156.
5. Lepel Griffin op. cit. p. 25 Hari Ram Gupta op. cit., Vol. II, p. 220.
6. Hari Ram Gupta, op. cit. Vol. I p. 227.
7. Ibid., p. 230.
8. Hari Ram Gupta, op. cit., Vol. IV pp. 157-158.
9. Lepel Griffin, op. cit. Vol. II pp. 285, 382
10. Surinder Singh, Nabha State Coinage, Panjab University Research Bulletin (Arts)' Vol. XXI No. 1, April 1990, p. 172.
11. Lepel Griffin, op. cit., Vol. I p. 6.
12. Hari Ram Gupta, op. cit. , Vol. IV p. 145.
13. Ibid., pp. 147-148.
14. Ibid., p. 161.
15. Lepel Griffin, op. cit., p. 24.
16. Ibid., p. 25, Hari Ram Gupta op. cit. Vol. II p. 202.
17. Hari Ram Gupta, op. cit., Vol. II. p. 220.
18. Ibid., Vol. IV p. 157.
19. Ibid., Vol. IV p. 157.
20. Lepel Griffin, op. cit., Vol. II p. 286.
21. 'Note regarding Patiala State currency' prepared by Patiala State authorities, placed at Annexure 'A'.
22. Hari Ram Gupta, op. cit., Vol. II p. 244.
23. Lepel Griffin, op. cit., Vol. p. 286.
24. Sayed Mohd. Hassan Khan, Tarikh-i-Patiala (Urdu) 1878 Amritsar. pp. 75-76.
25. Giani Gian Singh : Twarikh-i-Guru Khalsa (Punjabi) Language Deptt. Panjab. 1987 p. 563.
26. Hari Ram Gupta, op. cit., Vol. IV p. 158.

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27. R. C. Temple, 'Indian Antiquary', Vol. XVIII-1889 Bombay, p. 324.
28. Ibid., p. 324.
29. Gurbachan Singh Nayyar, Polity of Ala Singh, Panjab History Conference, Patiala, March, 1971, pp. 140-41.
30. Note on Patiala State Currency.
31. Bikramjit Hasrat, Life and Times of Ranjit Singh. V. V. R. I. Hoshiarpur 1977. pp. 70-77.
32. Ibid. , pp. 85-86.
33. Lepel Griffin, op. cit., Vol. I. pp. 213-220.

"During the disturbances of 1857-58, no prince in India showed greater loyalty or rendered more conspicuous service to the British Government than the Maharaja of Patiala. He was the acknowledged head of the sikhs and his hesitation or disloyalty would have been attended with the most disastrous results, while his ability, character and high position would have made him a most formidable leader against the Government."

34. Khushwant Singh, History of Sikhs, Vol. II, 1987. Oxford University Press Delhi p. 160.

"Over 60, 000 men from Patiala, Jind, Kapurthala, Nabha, Faridkot and Kalsia went to the front. The maharajas of Patiala, Jind and Kapurthala offered their personal services, and all the princes made generous contributions in cash and equipment."

35. Lepel Griffin, op. cit. , Vol. II p. 286.

R. C. Temple, op. cit., p. 334.

36. Stanley Lane-Poole. Catalogue of Indian coins in British Museum, London, 1982. (Printed by order of Trustees) p. LX.
37. Lepel Griffin, op. cit., Vol. II p. 287.

R. C. Temple, op. cit., p. 334.

38. Stanley Lane Poole, op. cit., P. LX.
39. Ibid. , R. C. Temple op. cit., p. 335.
40. Lepel Griffin, op. cit., Vol. II p. 287.
41. Note on Patiala State Currency, Annexure A.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Gur Rattan Pal Singh. The Tribune, Chandigarh. 22nd July 1990.
49. Karan Bir Kaur, 'Maharaja Rajinder Singh of Patiala', in Panjab past and present, Vol. XIX. Panjabi University, Patiala p. 128.
50. Minting of Nazrana coins for special royal ceremonies and Puja during Dussehra and Diwali. Extract from letter No. 2556 dated 10-5-1992 S. from Treasury Officer, Patiala to Accountant General, Patiala. Panjab State Archives, Patiala.

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"Adverting to the correspondence resting with my letter No. 2164 dated 18-4-92 I have the honour to state that as intimated vide this office letter No. 554 dated 4-2-1992, the total quantity of gold required for the whole year 1992 for making Patiala Mohars, half Mohars and Puja Coins was 3100 tolas but as some Mohars and half mohras were credited into the Treasury by the main Marriage Committee and the Deorhi Mualla Department, Mohars and half Mohras required for Guru Puja and Saloono were supplied out of the coins credited by the above department and now the total quantity of gold required can be reduced to 2400 tolas out of which purchase of 500 tolas has already been sanctioned by the Finance Minister and steps, I understand, are being taken to auction a contract for that quantity, I, therefore, request you to kindly obtain sanction of the Finance Minister to the purchase of 1900 tolas of gold more and 260 tolas of silver and request him to auction a contract for the total quantity of 2400 tolas of gold and 260 tolas silver at one and the same time."

51. Extract from Accountant General Patiala's letter No. 1809 R dated 25-3-2000 S addressed to the Finance Minister Patiala.

"Last year these silver and gold coins were got prepared by melting old pooja coins. As the time is still not favourable and rates of silver and gold are still too high, I request that similar procedure may kindly be allowed to be adopted this year too, to meet the requirement of Pooja coins."

52. Extract of the letter No. 957 dated 16-5-2000 S i. e. 22-8-1943 A.D. from Sardar Sahib Deodhi Mualla to the Finance Minister Patiala, Panjab State Archives Patiala.

"With reference to your letter No. 3595 dated 27-7-1943 I have the honour to state that though the coins, once used in Puja by the August Master cannot be used again according to the injunctions of the Shastras, but keeping in view the high rates of gold and silver, I have no objection if these are minted after melting down the old coins which are lying the Reserve Treasury.

Regarding your querry about further reduction in the use of gold and silver during war time, I would like to point out that this cannot be done without reducing the Sarishtas observed in the various occasions and it is not within my competence to do so."

53. Extract from Parmeshwari Lal Gupta and Sanjay Garg.

"The coins of Dal Khalsa and Lahore Darbar published by Panjab Government Chandigarh, 1989.

"This collection has about 1500 silver coins of the above type. Had they not some peculiarities of their own on the reverse, they would well have been mistaken as the Nabha coinage. Here, some of the coins have a spear pointed downward and some others have a rifle with bayonet placed vertically. The coins having the spear symbol have the figures 58 and those with rifle have the figure 94 by the right of these symbols. The mint name on these coins is Sarhind. There are a few gold coins (1/3 Muhar) (not in this collection). With the above reverse showing spear with figure 58 and rifle with figure 94. The reverse of these coins is that of the Durranis exactly the same as is adopted on the Patiala coins. Along with these facts, the fact that large number of these coins belong to the Sheesh-Mahal collection, make it certain that these coins would have been issued only by Patiala. They pose the question as to why Patiala, which had always associated itself with the Durrani rulers and issued its coins of their type, issued these particular coins adopting the Sikh obverse pattern ?

Watter Hamilton has suggested that these coins were used in connection with the religious ceremonies at Dashhera and Diwali. But this seems unlikely. Dashhara has nothing to do to the Sikhs. Only Diwali has some importance to them. They hold the Sarbhat Khalsa meeting on this day. But then, it is to be noted that Patiala always had been indifferent to these meetings. There seems no reason as to why would Patiala issued these coins on these

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occasions. It should not be lost sight that the coins bear two different symbols with two different figures, which seems to be some dates. If so, they would be representing Sambat (18) 58 (1796 AD) and (18) 94 (1737 A.D.) and thus they mean that they were issued on two different occasions. Only these figures would provide some clue to answer the question. It strikes to our mind that Patiala house, from the very outset, from the time of Alha Singh, had adopted the dual policy to side Durranis and at the same time to woo the leaders of Dal Khalsa. Not unlikely these coins might have been issued to appease Dal Khalsa at these dates. But what was the necessity to do so, we are unable to anticipate. It is a matter of investigation for the historians of this period."

54. Hans Herrli. Catalogue of Sikh Coins, a manuscript received for review.

55. Ibid.

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PROSTITUTION IN ANCIENT INDIA
(From Early Vedic to 300 A. D.)

Jalaluddin Ahmad Khan

A prostitute is defined as "a woman who is devoted or (usually) offers her body to indiscriminate sexual intercourse, especially for hire," [1] and prostitution is "the offering of the body to indiscriminate lewdness for hire."[2] But payment of money is not always a necessary ingredient for prostitution; hence it can be defined as a woman who submits herself to indiscriminate sexual intercourse with or without hire. In ancient India not being able to find out any easy vocation for their livelihood, some impoverished and destitute women adopted prostitution as a means for their subsistence. Although the extent of prostitution in ancient India is disputed, it had existed before the Buddhist days, despite the importance given to marriage in Vedic age : but for some girls who were without protectors, a life of prostitution was an obvious course to pursue.[3] However, prostitution was certainly not unknown, but in other respects morality seems to have been fairly high[4] in Vedic India.

The presence of the apsarases among the godly personages of the *Ṛgveda* and in the later Vedic texts is a clear proof of the existence of courtesans, and even perhaps of prostitutes, in the society. A nṛtū, compared to the Uṣā and given shining and embroidered garments, keeping bare her breasts,[5] certainly refers to professional dancers who went to fairs and merriments for making acquaintance of false love among the young people. Hymn X.95 points out to coquetry of the apsarases. The bright Marutas (storm gods) are said to have become associated with a young courtesan.[6] As depicted in *the Ṛgveda,* their love was occasionally enjoyed by men, besides the Gandharavas. There is a beautiful dialogue[7] in *the Ṛgveda* between Urvasī and Purūrava, her earthly lover and spouse. We come across mentions in *the Atharva Veda* of charms to drive out Rākshas, *Apsarās* and Gandharavas.[8] In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* the apsarases[9] came to be engaged in pursuits like dance, music and frivolous play where they are referred to as possessing great beauty.[10] These *apsarāses* are described as irresistibly beautiful women who could entice men to consort with them and eventually lead the heroes to destruction.[11] Several ancient Indian dynasties were supposed to have descended from the temporary union of some particular *apsarās* with hero. The *apsarās* could not marry and settle down to a permanent normal family life.[12] A survey of the contemporary literature unequivocally shows that originating in early Vedic India the profession of prostitution continued unabated throughout the period under

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review. Besides *apsarāses,* we find that brotherless girls were frequently reduced to becoming prostitutes.[13] Illegitimate daughters were forced into prostitution.[14] The terms *puṃścalī*[15] and *Mahānagnī*[16] undoubtedly mean 'harlot'. Apart from these, there are other clear references to prostitution;[17] and expressions like *Kumārīputra* 'son of a maiden'[18] and the 'son of an unmarried girl' (*argu*), spoken of in *the Ṛgveda*[19] as exposed and attacked by animals point in the same direction. There are some other evidences to prove indirectly the existence of prostitution in the society. The *Kauśika Sūtra* prescribes charms for capturing truant women and for suppressing paramours.[20] Some of the *Gṛhyasūtras* describe a rite which should be performed by a man who wishes that his wife must not be touched by any other man.[21] These references have made it aptly clear that the husband was afflicted with constant peril lest his wife developed illicit relation with other persons whom she was not legally wedded. The *Vājasaneyi Śaṃhitā*[22] recognises prostitution as a profession in those period.

Cultivation and cattle rearing prompted the early Vedic Āryans to have a settled life.[23] This and the idea of personal property[24] and unequal distribution of wealth as testified by *Ṛgveda* which mentions *Mahākulas*[25] and the *Maghavans*[26] who were distinguished for their wealth and liberty, together with economic necessities of some women resulted in the establishment of the institution of prostitutes in early India. The later Vedic period (C. 1000 to 500 B.C.) witnessed the beginning of the territorial state formation, the advent of social stratification, and the emergence of administrative machinery. All these pre-suppose a full-fledged agrarian society.[27] Moreover, this phase of Indian history saw the emergence of urban centres.[28] All these factors together provided a congenial milieu for thee prostitutes to carry on their profession without any inhibition. The urban centres or towns where most of the courtesans and prostitutes thrived became a special target of denunciation in the contemporary literature. The *Kauśika sūṭra*[29] and *Vasishtha Dharmasūtra*[30] disallow the study of *the Veda* in the towns. Disparaging urban life, Baudhāyana remarks that even a virtuous person of subdued senses cannot attain salvation by residing in a town, for his whole body is soiled and eyes and mouth filled with the dust of the town.[31]

It is observed that owing to paddy transplantation, irrigation and iron tools, the age of Buddha saw the emergence of a full-fledged agricultural society stabilised by division into ritualistic social classes by *Dharmasūtras.*[32] The emerging urban life of the later Vedic India thus got full scope to develop its paraphernalia during Buddha's time. How such society contributed to the growth of prostitution has been rightly commented upon by D. N. Jha : 'The growth of towns and the break-up of the old tribal family due to the sharpening of caste differences may have created a class of alienated women who became prostitutes to eke out a living.'[33] We find that the prostitutes conti-

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nued to exist since Vedic India but one notable factor of the Buddha period is that their number increased owing to the above-mentioned factors. They formed a far from negligible portion of the community, as is shown by the very ease with which they were used in similies[34]. Some, like Vimalā[35] and Sirimā,[36] appear to have been prostitutes because their mothers were which indicates that prostitution was a hereditary profession in those days. Among the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī a beautiful girl was considered a public property and she was required by usage to be brought up as an accomplished courtesan, having an easy access to the royal courts and aristocracy.[37] The *Gaṇikās* of this class felt their usefulness generally as trained agents for the satisfaction of the erotic sentiment of joy and the aesthetic enjoyment of life in its fullness and occasionally as spies in state service.[38] Men did not like pregnant courtesan, which can be deduced from the predicament expressed by courtesan Sālavatī that 'if any one should find out regarding me that the courtesan Sālavatī is pregnant, my whole position would be lost.'[39] Some of these prostitutes were extremely wealthy. For example, Ambapālī, Sirimā, Sulasā, Sāmā and Kālī, put their fee at a thousand pieces (kahapaṇas) for each night.[40] Mention is sometimes made of their ornaments[41] and their serving maids.[42] Sālavatī asked for a hundred pieces for one night[43]; while Kāmadhvajā Vānijāgrama was available for a thousand pieces and was granted the umbrella and yak tail as the mark of royal favour.[44] Kali also used to get one thousand pieces for one night out of which five hundred were for the woman, five hundred were the price of the clothes, perfumes and garlands; the men who visited that house received garments to clothe themselves in, and stayed for the night there; then on the next day they put off the garments they had received, and put on those they had brought and went their ways.[45] Courtesans sometimes lived in groups,[46] or went about in groups and the more famous ones sometimes had others in their train, as it is said of Sūlasā[47] and of Kālī.[48]

According to the outlook of their own times, it was thought that a woman was a prostitute on account of the working out of her *karma*. It was partly because of the notion of *Karma* that the profession was frankly permitted by the social code of the day, and was more openly recognised.[49] Prostitution was regarded as a condition to which a person was reborn as a desert for some offence which, as it was thought, had overtaken her in a previous existence,[50] but she need not remain in this condition. It is purely because of this reason the profession of prostitutes was not abhorred in the society.

There was no dearth of evidences to prove the existence of prostitutes in the Epics. The *vēśyās* or strumpets are in the Epic as elsewhere in Indian literature an important part of city life.[51] *Apsarās* of Vedic period literature who were notorious for extra-marital relations were again seen in the Epics. It is said that they were employed in heaven, by Indra to dance at sacrifice, to entertain the guests or the good people who attain heaven and entice great

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Ṛshis when he was jealous of their penances.[52] Although they were often successful in disturbing such penances, they had sometimes to pay heavy penalities for such acts.[53] *Apsarases* were also invoked by the Ṛshis to entertain their guests.[54] Often they waited upon heroes and provided entertainment in sacrifices and coronations.[55] Their taking part in human affairs and extra-marital relations with men plainly indicates that they were not heavenly beings but might have travelled through the ocean to India and have settled down somewhere in the Himalāyas.[56]

As discussed earlier, the human counterparts of these *Apsarās* were courtesans. They performed exactly the same duties for the kings as did *Apsarases* for Indra. Their red garments, red wreaths and red golden ornaments[57] recalled the god of Death; but in India this is also the colour of life, passion and love.[58] Famous cities were decorated by the pesence of *Gaṇikās*.[59] These public women were open to visits of all.[60] Even the kings on their return to their kingdoms were received by an escort of honour consisting of armies and hetaera.[61] They followed in expeditions of the kings,[62] and accompanied armies in the battle fields, a sure sign of degeneration.[63] They were also engaged in alluring Ṛshis.[64]

Some of them used to be concubines and lived among the members of the royal families. Yudhishṭhira sends tender greetings to these granters of delight along with other family members.[65] May be these were songstresses who used to sing in the palaces to awaken the princes in the morning — a custom referred to so often.[66]

In the narrative part of the Epics they are mentioned among other auspicious objects such as the maidens.[67] To welcome the heroes they go along with the maidens as already mentioned, which would be unthinkable from our present standards. This only shows that they were not outcasts to such an extent as they are now. The contemporary society must have realised that their sin was as much its own or it might have taken a lighter view according to which women were gradually thought to be articles of enjoyment, and as such, the prostitutes performed their true office. Nevertheless, their importance in civic life and royal patronage could only lead to the conclusion that these women of pleasure were used as ornaments at palaces, courts, camps and cities. Their value and importance was that of a precious material for decoration i.e. property and not of a human being.[68] However, with the passing of time more emphasis was given to the chastity of women; the symptoms of which are clearly seen in the didactic portions of Epics, where profession of prostitutes was despised and prostitutes were held in odium.

Coming down to the 4th century B.C. we find the Mauryan government under the foster care of Kauṭilya recognised prostitution as a part and parcel

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of the society and not a crime. He divided the institute of harlots into three categories.[69] They are as follows :

a) Royal Prostitutes.

b) City level prostitutes

c) Private prostitutes or a group of prostitutes under the control of a private person.

Harlots of the Mauryan empire were connotated as *'gaṇikā'* which denoted a prostitute and also government servent.[70] The other terms used by him are *Pratiganikā, rūpajivā, veśyā, dāsī, devadāsī, puṃśchalī, silpakarikā, kausikāstri, and rūpadāsī* which meant special kind of prostitutes. The individual prostitute (rupajivā) was not considered to be a government servant by Kauṭilya.[71] The superintendent of prostitutes *'Gaṇikādhyakṣa'* was appointed by the state, whose main duty was to keep an eye on the prostitute's conduct, ensure her regular payment of tax to the state, gifts obtained and the number of paramours entertained by her.[72] Further, his duty involved supervising her earnings, inheritance, daily expenditure, items of extravangance[73] and future earnings. The king paid monthly salary to the *Gaṇikā* but her earning went to the state.[74]

Kauṭilya has classified harlots into three categories such as first, middle and highest and each was paid yearly salary according to her rank. The *Gaṇikā* employed for the royal palace received 1000 panas[75] as her yeariy salary and the same amount was paid to a prostitute of the middle rank. The Royal Prostitute of the highest rank got 3000 panas.[76] Kauṭilya also mentions rival prostitutes *'Pratigaṇikā'* and private prostitutes on a payment of 500 panas yearly.[77] It seems that these promiscuous women were at times not loyal to the state and hence *pratigaṇikā* was created to act as a spy among her associates.[78]

Provisions were made to safeguard the future interests of such women.[79] If the prostitute emigrated or if she died, her duty was taken over by her sister or daughter (if she had attained maturity) who were eligible for the same pay and property. If none were available, the prostitute's mother had to hire another harlot in her place and in the absence of any, the government could confiscate the property of the prostitute concerned.[80] Provisions were also made for the prostitutes who were in the regular service and later became incompetent owing to old age or other were appointed as nurses.[81] Freedom to the prostitutes was granted on a payment of 24,000 panas as ransom to the state.[82] The cause for charging the ransom can be deduced from the fact that as she was a government servant, the state lost its income due to her withdrawal from the profession of a harlot. The government took the responsibility

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of appointing teachers to teach different kinds of arts to the prostitutes known from *Arthaśāstra*.[83]

However, a Gaṇikā was expected to follow the strict stipulations laid down by the emperor and violation meant heavy punishment. For example, a prostitute mortgaging her property *'Svapateyam'* was fined $50\frac{1}{2}$ paṇas and 24 to 48 panas for speaking ill of others or hurting. At the same time Kauṭilya warns the citizens not to spoil the institute of harlots.[84] The strumpets were cautioned not to carry on this profession at a minor age and a person assaulting her was liable to the maximum amercement.[85] Cheating was not allowed and the harlot if found cheating was fined based on the paramour's decision. But if the paramour happened to be unassociable due to internal disease or personal defects, the prostitute had all the authority to check him out. From this it is evident that both prostitutes and the paramour had to undergo periodical medical check up in the Mauryan state.[86]

The usual tax paid by the prostitutes monthly to the government was double the amount of their daily earning *'bhogadvigunaṁ'* and the *rupajīvā* who were not the government servants had to pay 1/15th (6.6%) of their income as tax to the state.[87]

Thus it can be conjectured that the idea of creating such an institution must have been politically motivated to collect details about the hostile neighbours, their plans etc. Secondly, the state received 30% of income through the institution of harlots, and also it is quite likely that unemployment on the part of woman led to prostitution. Hence, prostitution was neither a crime nor a sin, but a state enterprise under its own ministers.

We find unbroken continuity in the profession of prostitute even after the Mauryan period. For we know from Pātañjali's *Mahābhāsya* that the prostitutes had their group at a conspicuous place *'gaṇikānaṁ samūho gāṇikyāṁ.'*[88] In the age of Vātsyāyana, the *Gaṇikā* though belonging to the class of 'Public women' still appears to have been treated with special consideration. But it was not every courtesan who received this appelation : it was only when a woman of this class was marked out by high intellectual attainments, and striking pre-eminence in the arts that she won the coveted title of *Gaṇikā*.[89] Vātsyāyana lays down that it is only when a courtesan is versed in both the series of sixty four arts or kalās enumerated by him and is endowed with an amiable disposition, personal charms and other winning qualities, that she acquires the designation of a Gaṇikā and receives a seat of honour in the assemblies of men.[90] She is always honoured by the king and is lauded by men qualified to appreciate merit; her favours and company are sought for, and she becomes, in fact, the observed of all observers, a model and pattern for all.[91] We observe that in the days of Kātayāṇa, there were already guilds of

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Gaṇikā like Gaṇikā saṇgha in Vātsyāyana.[92] Thus, we see that the prostitutes continued to enjoy respect in the society.

There was an additional institution of the devadāsī, literally the slave woman dedicated to the temple. the devadāsī, possibly originally only a dancer attached to the temple, evolved into the temple prostitute.[93] It is needless, however, to speculate about the genesis of the custom in India. It has been said that the custom has its origin in the deplorable tendency of the human mind to combine religious and sexual emotion in the worship of deities.[94] Female artists were possibly introduced in temples more for the performance of certain specified duties, than for the purpose of pandering to the libidinous tastes of those who frequented such places of worship. In the system of education of these women, manners stand higher than morals. The dancing girl is not necessarily bad, but there is in her life much temptation to do evil and little stimulous to do right, and where one may live a blameless life, many others go wrong and drop below the margin of respectability. Thus in time, harlotry has come to be regarded as inseparably connected with the vocation of dancing girls and as an essential feature of temple worship.[95] However, it is an undeniable fact that the Brāhmaṇa in charge of the temples could earn substantial profits from dancing girl prostitution[96].

These devadāsī were often the children of mothers of the same profession, but they might also be daughters of ordinary citizens, given in the childhood to the god as pious offerings.[97] We have no evidence of temple prostitution in early times. The earliest record of religious prostitution comes from a cave at Rāmgaṛh,[98] which contains two significant parkrit inscriptions; the content of which are as follows: 'the excellent young man Devadinna the painter loved Sutanukā, the slave girl of the god.' There are no other clear references to devadāsīs in early sources, however, and we must assume that they were rare until the middle ages. Temple prostitution was most common in the south, where it survived until recent times.[99]

The *Dharmasūtra* writers have often written in favour of prostitutes. Manu contemplates the case of men who make money by their wives' prostitution in the following texts : "This rule does not apply to the wives of actors and singers nor of those who live on the intriguies of their own wives for such men send their wives to others, or concealing themselves allow them to hold criminal intercourse." Nārada recognises the class of courtesans when he lays down, "if a prostitute does not attend after having received her fee, she shall be fined twice.[101] Yājñavalkya[102] lays down that if a man has intercourse with another's mistress, he shall be fined 50 panas. In commenting on this text, Yājñavalkya, the author of the *Mitākṣarā* notices that in the *Skanda Pūrāṇa* prostitutes are regarded as the fifth caste outside the then recognised four castes.[103]

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Prostitution, though in many contexts honoured and respected, was much disapproved of by the Smṛiti writers. Gautama maintains that the murderer of a prostitute commits no sin and should incur no punishment at law.[104] Manu says, "one oil-press is as (bad) as ten slaughters house, one tavern as (bad as) ten oil-presses, one brothel as (bad as) ten taverns, one king as (bad as) ten brothels.[105] It is also said that from the harlot the Brāhmaṇa (or the father of a family) must not accept anything, nor eat any of her food.[106] The composers of didactic portions framed many rules against them and the Brāhmaṇa were particularly forbidden to take food provided by courtesans.[107] A gift from her was not to be accepted for she was regarded worse than butchers and oil-men.[108] The harlots were to be held in check for they were harmful to kingdom.[109] It has been stated that in the evil age i.e. *Kaliyuga,* the highways will be infested with public women.[110] This indicates a very low social position contrasting the above references we find the Gaṇikās of the highest class, says Vātsyāyāna, consider it as the highest gain to themselves when they receive sufficient money to spend on the building of temples, excavation of tanks, planting of gardens, erection of bridges and of houses for sacrifice and ceremonies or the institution of permanent arrangements for the worship of the gods. They valued very highly any chance of giving away cows to Brāhmaṇas, of course through a third person, because no Brāhmaṇa would accept anything from a courtesan.[111] Besides, by the Middle ages the Brāhmaṇas who propounded the sacred law might themselves be attached to temples with hundreds of prostitutes on their staffs.

These prostitutes were not visited by men of urban areas only but by men of rural areas as well, but the Brāhmaṇas were not supposed to go to these *veśyās.*[112] In spite of this check we do find an instance where a Brāhmaṇa youth went to a prostitute Haralatā who dies of separation when this Brāhmaṇa youth had to leave her and go because of his father's command.[113] Economically not all the prostitutes were wealthy. There were certainly many poor and cheap prostitutes, who would end their days in beggary, or as menials or workmen; but the typical prostitute of literature was beautiful, accomplished, and wealthy, enjoying a position of fame and honour.[114] Thus we find that though stigmatised the profession of prostitutes continued as an ingredient of society.

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55. *Mbh.*, XIV.88.36; *Rām.*, VI.128.72.
56. In the hills there is still a race of the Naiks whose beautiful daughters formerly asked to dancing and prostitution in hills and plains and were trained for their profession. (vide Naik Girls Protection Act. 1929 Vol. III, paged 1969-72. The Uttar Pradesh Local Acts, by S. M. Hussain, Lucknow, 1957.)
57. *Mbh.* VIII. 94.26.
58. Jayal, S. : *The Status of Women in the Epics*, Delhi, 1966, p. 214.
59. *Rām.*, II.51.21.
60. *Mbh.*, VIII.94.26.
61. *Mbh.*, V.85.15, 16; XIII.53.66; *Rām.* VI.127.3; *Mbh.*, IV.68.24, 29.
62. *Rām.* , II.36.2-3; *Mbh.*, III.239.22-24; II.36.3.
63. *Mbh.* , V.195.19
64. *Rām.*, I.9.17; 10.6; *Mbh.* III.110.53-54.
65. *Mbh., I.30.38.*
66. *Ibid.*, V.90.16; XII.325.36 mentioned among maid servants of king. *Rām.*, VI.61.6.
67. *Rām.*, II.3.17; 14.39.
68. Jayal, S. : *op. cit.*, p. 215.
69. Kautilya's Arthaśāstra translated and edited by RmShamasastry, Bangalore, 1915, Book, II. Chapter XXVII, pp. 153-55.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
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74. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*
78. It seems that the prostitutes disclosed the secrets of the state to their foreign paramours.
79. *Arthaśāstra,* op. cit., p. 153.
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-56
84. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
87. *Ibid.*
88. Puri, B. N. : *India in the time of Patañjali,* Bombay, 1957, p. 113.
89. Chakladar, H. C. : *Social Life in Ancient India, Studies in Vatsyayana's Kamasutra,* Delhi, 1976, p. 198.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*
92. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-201.
93. Gulati, S. : *Women and Society,* Delhi, 1985.
94. Mitter, D. N. : *The Position of Women in Hindu Law,* New Delhi, 1984, p. 656.
95. *Ibid.*
96. Kosambi, D. D. : *op. cit.*, p. 196.
97. Basham, A. L. : *The Wonder that was India,* Bombay, 1963, p. 185.
98. Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Delhi, 1903-04, p. 122.
99. Basham, A. L. : *op. cit.*
100. Manu, VIII.362.
101. Narada, Chap. VI. Page. 68, Dr. Jolly's tran.
102. Yajna., II.290.
103. Mitter, D. N. : *op. cit.* , p. 654.
104. *Gaut. Dh. S.*, XXII.27
105. Manu, IV.85.
106. Vasishtha, XIV.10; II.14; Manu, IV.209; Vishnu, II.7; Yajna., I.161.
107. *Mbh.* , XII.36.28.
108. *Mbh.* , XIII.125.9.
109. *Mbh.* , XII.88.14-15.,

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110. *Mbh.*, III.190.52.
111. Chakladar, H. C. : *op. cit.*, p. 199.
112. Gulati, S. : *op. cit.*, 219.
113. *Ibid.*
114. Basham, A. L. : *op. cit.*, p. 183.

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MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF NORTH-WEST INDIA AS DEPICTED BY ALEXANDER'S HISTORIANS

Vipnesh Bhardwaj

The institution of marriage, although universal, yet differs in its essential ethos and attributes from culture to culture and society to society. Marriage was an established institution in early times and it was also regarded as a social and religious duty and necessity for both the man and the woman.[1] The Greek writers accompanying Alexander in 327 B.C., also referred to as Alexander's Historians,[2] came across such marriage customs in India which they found to be new and sometimes strange, and these marriage customs were brought out in their writings.

The institution of marriage has a long history in India. It may have originated sometime in the beginning of the Chalcolithic age or even earlier.[3] Eight forms of marriage which have been mentioned in ancient Indian literature,[4] are different both quantitatively and qualitatively. The special characteristics of each of these forms have been fully codified and elaborated by Manu. In the first four forms there is the gift of the girl, known as Kanyādāna, and were considered legal. The other four forms generally were not the ones recommended and were therefore considered illegal or at least were not found desirable. Some of these forms mentioned by Alexander's historians are described below.

Among certain tribes in North-Western India in 327 B.C., Nearchus observed that a girl was given away as a prize to the winner in physical competitions. Nearchus also informs us that girls, as soon as they were of marriageable age, were brought forward by their fathers and exposed in public. They were then selected by the winners in wrestling or boxing or running, or by someone who excelled in any other mainly exercise.[5] Such activities might have taken place in the open spaces provided by the squares,[6] brought to light during excavations at Taxila. Here all the eligible bachelors, irrespective of their masculine qualifications, financial status or family connections could try their luck. The lady in this case resigns her fate to the young man on whom the choice falls. The simplicity of this practice matches with its spirit of democratic ideas. The lady in this case has no voice in selection but she knows fully well that the intending suitors are capable and fit to marry her. Hence if she resigns her fate to such a game of chance, she is not considered less prudent and sagacious.[7] This seems to have been the general

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practice at that time. There may be here a reference to the ancient custom called Svayamvara,[8] that is the selection of a husband by a princess or daughter of a Kshatriya at a public assembly of suitors held for the purpose.[9] The Svayamvara had several varieties. The one mentioned in the epics, of Sita and Draupadi, did not depend on the will of the bride but the bride was to be given in marriage to whomsoever showed a certain skill as a warrior.[10] It may be pointed out here that though Gandharva and Svayamvara are not one and the same form of marriage, the independence of the young girl in her choice of the husband is implied in both and, may be, that is why Svayamvara is not included in the list of eight forms of marriage.[11]

Interestingly among the Bhils of the present times this form of marriage is still stated to be in practice. Here the young man acquires the right of choosing any girl of the community by exhibiting physical prowess and courage.[12] Tribal marriages by selection of lot differ from the Puranic instances only in degree. Such marriages were also prevalent among the Ulladras, a very primitive pre-Dravidian tribe found in central Travancore; the Nayadis of Malabar and the Bondos of Orissa.[13] The laws of Manu tell us of a very special injunction that a girl is better unmarried forever than be given to an unsuitable husband.[14] The description of Nearchus would thus indicate that the suitability of the bridegroom with his physical qualities was of primary concern in such a form of marriage.

We are also informed by the Greeks that a wife could be bought for a pair of kine[15], and these domestic animals were found to be useful in ones life. It would seem that the pair of cows was symbolic and an alternative equivalent in value would be equally acceptable.[16] This type of marriage custom was also prevalent among the Vedic rishis,[17] and of the eight forms of marriage this one can be compared to the Arsha form. In this form the bride does not have any say in the selection of her groom. Here the choice is made by the suitor, who gives the gift of a cow and a bull, after which the parents consent is asked for.[18] Such types of marriages were inferior to the Brahma form. Manu goes so far as to condemn even the Arsha form as a kind of sale because a pair of cattle is therein taken by the girl's father.[19]

It could, however, be said that cattle given in exchange for the girl were not given as a price. It was only a relic of the bride price which was once very common. And the Arsha may be termed as the refined form of Asura marriages.[20] The acceptance of a pair of cattle has been given a religious twist—the symbolic sale assuming here a religious colour. Some commentators have explained this acceptance as an obedience of law and others have interpreted it as taken for sacrificial purposes.[21] We may understand that no purchase in the real sense was involved in such marriages but that this was done only because it had become customary.

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While Alexander was in Taxila, his men of letters came in contact and observed the ways of the people of the city. Aristobulus makes mention of some strange and unusual customs which existed at Taxila.[22] He tells us that those parents who due to poverty were unable to bestow their daughters in marriage, would expose them for sale in the market place in the prime of their age. The structures which have been referred to as 'Squares'[23] have been exposed during excavations at Taxila. These may have been the places where the sale of girls, as mentioned by Alexander's historians, used to take place. For this purpose a crowd was collected by the sounding of shells and drums. When any person from among those gathered came forward for making a deal, then first the back of the girl as far as the shoulders was exposed for his examination, and then the parts in front, and if she pleased him and also allowed herself at the same time to be persuaded, they would cohabit on such terms as may be agreed upon.[24] Pearson has referred to this as the 'sale of unwanted daughters in the market'.[25] Obviously regarding this Aristobulus has drawn upon his imagination, too. He probably had in his mind the sale and purchase of female slaves in his own country. While in India he must have heard of the Asura form of marriage, in which girls were given in marriage in exchange of a bride-price previously settled upon with the bridegroom. He must not have been able to make a clear difference between the two, and may have referred to the Indian marriage custom as a 'sale'.[26]

It is no surprise that this form of marriage referred to as the Asura type mentioned in the Hindu Shastras was prevalent in Taxila. This meant acquisition by purchase.[27] Sale of girls in marriage was, however, looked upon with contempt in ancient Indian literature on the subject.[28] Even if at any time girls were sold for marriage, gradually public feeling entirely changed, and not only was the sale of daughters by fathers or brothers severely condemned, but even taking of presents by them was looked down upon.[29] Such a custom was peculiar to the Asuras and the people of the hilly regions. We are also informed that the disposal of maidens by public sale was an old Babylonian custom, too.[30]

There are a few cases of Asura marriages recorded in ancient Indian tradition,[31] like in the Vedas, the Pali literature, the Epics and the Dharmashastra literature, but it has also been condemned all along by the ancient writers. A somewhat similar custom of marriage prevailed even upto the nineteen-forties in parts of the Himalayan region. Here girls who were not able to afford dowries, would offer themselves at the annual fairs to the highest bidder. One could see scores of them at the Sipi fair not far from Simla, seeking husbands in this way.[32] *The Rigveda* also speaks of an ardent but undeviable suitor who had to please the father of the bride through heavy payments. Marriage by purchase is to this day found prevalent in many tribal areas of India.[33] The marriage by purchase practised by the aboriginal peoples

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of India have all the elements of a legal contract and they approximate to the Asura type. This is the leading form of marriage in tribal India.[34] Such marriages were prevalent when Alexander came to India.

Next, we are informed by Onesikritus that among the Indians a marriage could be affected after the husband and wife choose each other.[35] This kind of marriage has been called Gandharva marriage in the Hindu Shastras.[36] Diodorus Siculus says that it was an ancient law among the Indians that when young men and maidens decided to wed, but could not get the consent of their parents, they married on their own.[37] The Vedas provide us with the precise details of the incident before the proper marriage ceremonies. Here the young maiden was free to choose the husband with whom she could unite her lot; this is reflected in the hymn of Syavaswa to the Maruts.[38] The marriage of Dushyanta with Shakuntala which is well known, is a celebrated example of the Gandharva type.[39] When bride's right to choose her own partner was conceded, it was but natural that love marriages arranged by a boy and girl themselves, should have taken place with a fair amount of frequency.[40] The Gaddi tribe of Himachal Pradesh also have a form of marriage as Gandharva, which is known as Jind Phuk.[41] This form is still prevalent in the rural women of Assam,[42] as also in other parts of India. Though such marriages were allowed, they could also have been the source of many problems. Diodorus says that when marriages were made between persons of immature age, mistakes of judgement were of frequent occurrence; and then both sides repented their union.[43]

Curtius talking of the customs of the kingdom of Sophytes says that these people marry, not because of considerations of family or rank, but for reasons of handsomeness and beauty, because that is what is valued in their country. In this regard Diodorus also tells us that beauty and physique valued in the matter of marriage, and while selecting a bride, they do not care whether the girl has a handsome fortune, but look only for her beauty and appearance. Their king Sophytes was admired by all for his handsomeness and his stature which exceeded four cubits.[44] However, we cannot be sure if the Greeks wrote down exactly what they saw in India or idealised it in the light of very similar Spartan institutions known to them.

In large volume of material in Hindu literature and art objects, we see that beauty of one's person was of prime importance. It is not surprising that Alexander found Indians beauty conscious. Marriages effected on the basis of beauty would also indicate a type of free life in the society. In the Gandharva type of marriages also, it is very likely that handsomeness and beauty played the main role. As Altekar points out, even in the *Rig Veda* we have references to beautiful brides selecting their own life partners.[45]

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Among the legal forms of marriage Alexander's historians have referred to only the Arsha form of marriage in their accounts though the other three forms cannot be ruled out as being absent. The Svayamvara form of marriage which was common among the high class kshatriya may also have been prevalent among the common people. Some parents were, it seems, forced by circumstances to take to this form of marriage for the daughters. Marriages by purchase, i.e. Asura, and that by mutual choice, i.e. Gandharva, were included in the condemned category. But in spite of the general disapproval for the sale of girls for marriage, the Asura form of marriage had to be accepted in society.[46] The sale of girls is mentioned by Alexander's historians though Nearchus, on the other hand, tells us that marriages were not arranged by offering or receiving anything.[47] Lastly, the Gandharva form did take place but was not of frequent occurrence, as it occurred only when the consent of the parents was not given. We may say that at the time of Alexander's invasion the idea of a proper marriage was that the father or guardian of the girl, should freely select the bridegroom on account of his merit and where no party was influenced by any consideration of money which the other might give.[48] But many could not take to this form of marriage. Alexander's historians, too, must have understood this and therefore, wrote of marriages made without dowry on the one hand and marriages where presents in cash and kind were given, on the other.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, p. 31.
2. The term 'Alexander's Historians' refers to the men who accompanied Alexander during his invasion. Not all among them were especially trained historical writers but these men occupied different positions in his army. These men have written of their experiences of India and its life during that period.
3. B. S. Upadhayaya, *Women in Rig Veda,* p. 52.
4. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharamsastras,* Vol. II part I, pp. 516-525; A. S. Altekar, op. cit., pp. 35-48; A. R. Gupta, *Women in Hindu Society,* pp. 27-34; B. S. Upadhayaya, op. cit., pp. 73-81; J. J. Meyer, *Sexual Life in Ancient India,* p. 55; N. Sengupta, *Evolution of Hindu Marriage,* pp. 88-95; H. C. Sastri, *Studies in the Social Background of the Forms of marriage in Ancient India,* Vol. I and II.
5. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian,* p. 227; F.R.B. Godolphin, *The Greek Historians,* Vol. II, p. 745; J. T. Wheeler, *India from the Earliest Ages,* Vol. 3, 167; KAN Sastri, Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, p. 108; L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great,* p. 129.
6. J. Marshal, *Taxila,* Vol. I, p. 90.
7. P. T. Nair, *Marriage and Dowry* in India, p. 102.
8. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature,* p. 72; J. T. Wheeler, op. cit., pp. 167-168; B. S. Upadhyaya, op. cit., p. 78; C. Bader, *Women in Ancient India,* pp. 31-34; J. J. Meyer, op. cit., pp. 78-89; H. C. Sastri, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 551-593.

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9. The "Kshatriya circles in society even conceded to grown-up brides the exclusive right of selecting their own consorts, as is proved by the custom of svayamvara or self-choice, " A.S. Altekar, op. cit., p. 65; Also I. B. Horner, *Women under Primitive Buddhism,* p. 30.
10. P. V. Kane, op. cit., p. 623.
11. N. Sengupta, op. cit., p. 99.
12. H. C. Sastri, op. cit., p. 614.
13. P. T. Nair, op. cit., p. 110.
14. E. W. Hopkins, *The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India,* p. 286
15. J. T. Wheeler, op. cit., p. 167; Strabo tells us, 'They marry many wives whom they purchase, from their parents giving in exchange a yoke or Oxen (J. W. McCrindle, op. cit., p. 57); A.S. Altekar, op. cit., p. 44.
16. R. Thapar, *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas,* p. 87.
17. J. T. Wheeler, op. cit., pp. 167-168.
18. N. Sengupta, op. cit., p. 91; H. C. Sastri, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 329-368.
19. P. V. Kane, op. cit., p. 506.
20. A. S. Altekar, op. cit., pp. 44-45.
21. H. C. Sastri op. cit., Vol. II, p. 418.
22. It may be mentioned here that at Taxila Alexander's Historians also came across the custom of polygamy,(J. W. Mc.)Crindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, p. 69.
23. J. Marshal, *Taxila,* Vol. I, p. 90.
24. J. W. McCrindle, op. cit., p. 69; B. N. Puri, *India in Classical Greek writings,* p. 107; J.T. Wheeler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 168; KAN Sastri, op. cit., p. 103; Similar custom was also observed in Hong Kong in the mid 19th century, Young girls were brought in boats, " with drums and gongs beating, and colours flying. . . . the young ladies. . . . arrayed in their smartest jackets and trousers might be seen endeavouring to bewitch those visitors who flocked to the boats". The price averaged from 100 to 200 dollars (G. R. Scott, Curious Customs of Sex and Marriage, p. 68.).
25. L. Pearson, op. cit., p. 176; Aristobulus' account of the life and manners of Taxila is abbreviated very severely by Starbo, who gives only some of the 'strange and unusual' customs (ibid).
26. S. Mukerjee, *Some Aspects of Social Life in Ancient India,* p. 85.
27. Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Vol. XVII, p. 22; B. N. Puri, India as described b y Early Greek Writers, p. 86; J. J. Meyer, op. cit., pp. 100-103; H. C. Sastri, op. *cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 256-328.
28. P. V. Kane, op. cit., Vol. II, Part I, p. 504.
29. Ibid., p. 505.
30. J. T. Wheeler, op. cit., p. 168 ; 'The name Asura for this kind of marriage naturally brings to memory the Assyrian mode of marriage by purchase,' B. S. Upadhyaya, p. 75; 'The Thracians also adopted a similar custom', G. R. Scott, Curious Customs of Sex and Marriage, p. 65.
31. A. S. Altekar, op. cit., p. 39.
32. J. Marshall, Taxila, Vol. I, p. 19.

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33. H. C. Sastri, op. cit., p. 614.

34. P. T. Nair, op. cit., p. 17.

35. J. W. McCrindle, op. cit., p. 38; J. T. Wheeler, op. cit., p. 173; L. Pearson, op. cit., p. 105.

36. B. S. Upadhyaya, op. cit., p. 79; A. S. Altekar, op. cit., pp. 42-43; N. Sengupta op. cit., pp. 93-94 H. C. Sastri, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 501-550; A Chakravarty, *Life and Society in Ancient India,* 1985, pp. 52-53.

37. J. W. McCrindle, op. cit., p. 202.

38. C., Bader, *Women in Ancient India,* p. 24.

39. J. J. Meyer, op. cit., pp. 90-99.

40. A. S. Altekar, op. cit., p. 66.

41. Though it is a recognised form of marriage, yet elopement is not considered a healthy practice for the community; (S. S. Shastri, The Gaddi Tribes of Himachal Pradesh, pp. 63-64

42. P. D. Saikia, *Indian Rural Women,* pp. 49-51.

43. J. W. McCrindle, ibid.

44. J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great,* p. 280.

45. A. S. Altekar, op. cit., p. 65.

46. N. Sengupta, op. cit., p. 93.

47. L. Pearson, op. cit., p. 129; 'they may be married though portionless' (J. W. McCrindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, p. 72.

48. R. C. Majumdar, *Imperial Unity,* Vol. II, p. 559.

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SECTION - IV
Views And Reviews

A. B. Mukerji	*Tropical Geomorphology* by Dr. H. S. Sharma, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1987, pages 385, figures and tables.
Susheel Kumar Sharma	*Essays on Leo Tolstoy*, ed. T. R. Sharma, Meerut, Shalabh Prakashan, 1989, pp. XLII + 269, Rs. 300.
D. C. Bhattacharyya	*Buddhist Remains* by Devendra Handa, Heritage of Haryana II, Department of Archaeology & Museums, Chandigarh, 1989. pp. 30 including the prelims and 31 photographic and line-drawn illustrations and the frontispiece. Price not mentioned.
Jagannath Agrawal	Imperial Gupta Epigraphs by Dr. Prithvi Kumar Agrawala, Pub. Books Asia, Varanasi - 221 005, 1983, pp. 132, Plates 62, Price Rs.275.

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TROPICAL GEOMORPHOLOGY BY DR. H. S. SHARMA, NEW DELHI, CONCEPT PUBLISHING COMPANY, 1987, PAGES 385, FIGURES AND TABLES

A. B. Mukerji

To those geomorphologists who are interested in the geomorphology of Rajasthan and of India in general the name of Dr. H. S. Sharma is synonymous with the geomorphology of Aravalli Ranges that straddle, like the vertebral column, the terrain of Rajasthan. For the last two decades Dr. Sharma has been consistently investigating the different facets of the geomorphology of these extremely old geological formations of India and of the world. These investigations, as would be expected of an accomplished scientist, focus on both the geomorphological features and the genetic processes.

The title of the book and the chapter titles are extremely modest, they deal with a much larger canvas of related themes than are indicated by their phrases. Essentially it is an investigation of the morphogenesis of Rajasthan : the term morphogenetic here really refers to and is ensconced by the widely discussed principles formulated by Tricart, Birot, Budel, Peltier, and Seuffert and a host of their colleagues and research associates. Their basic premises even though the concepts, methods, and arguments are involved in seemingly intractable controversies and contradictions, are surprisingly similar : the principal determinant of geomorphological processes and the features and attributes generated by them is to be found in the intricate details of climates and the climatic processes. Dr. Sharma does a commendable analysis of the present and past climates and a very detailed morpho-chemical analysis of typical soils which themselves can be considered as constituting important climatic indicators. This is further supported by a long, interesting, and balanced discussion on *kankar* formation, a subject that has been investigated by a host of scientists since the last century. By determining their age, the genetic processes of *kankar* formations and the climatic roles were identified — a very interesting and convincing method of unravelling the geologic age, the climatic conditions, and the genetic processes. Dr. Sharma's book is replete with such innovative techniques. In splendid details he analyses the palaeoclimatic conditions and the related geomorphologically significant desertification. The eroded pediments, fossil sand-dunes, inter-dunal lats,

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boulders and gravels, have been analysed with the same explicit objectives – the palaeoclimates and their geomorphic significance.

Indeed, the *piece de resistance* of the entire discussion is the comprehensive analysis of the palaeoclimate and desertification. There is in it an impressive referencing and scrutiny of literature as also that of the evidences of the palaeoclimatic changes in Rajasthan. Essentially, Dr. Sharma, has focussed on three kinds of evidences : geomorphological, archaeological, and palaeo-botanical. As a competent and established geomorphologist as he is, Dr. Sharma analyses each of the geomorphological evidences with detached objectivity that enhances enormously its scientific tenor and merit. For all the evidences, it is not only the careful scrutiny of the current research and generalisations resulting therefore, but the field observations and careful translation of the landsat imagery data on to the real ground and cross-sections that would impress a scientist of geomorphological patterns and processes. The reconstructions of the palaeoclimatic conditions are, at once, extremely complex but the arguments are convincing and the collation of data is logical. Consider his discussion of the *kankar* deposits : the geomorphic situation, the proportion of Calcium Carbonate, C^{14} dating of *kankar* particles, origin of *kankar*, and the climatic inferences of *kankar* pan. This is just an example, but Dr. Sharma performs the scientific task with equal competence and dexterity in analysing each and every evidence and extracting from them the associated climatic data. It becomes amply evident from the vast gamut of analyses that there have been several phases, clearly distinguished one from the other, in the complex history of the Rajasthan palaeoclimatic changes from 10,000 B. P. to our times. Dr. Sharma has proposed at least seven phases, alternating between humid and arid, desertification and de-desertification. To the extent that the data of the geomorphological evidences converge the reconstruction is fully validated and the book becomes a model of research of Tropical Geomorphology of one of the most prominent arid regions of the world. Dr. Sharma does indeed present an innovative method of the study of tropical geomorphology : beginning with the reconstruction of tropical palaeoclimates involving the geomorphological and archaeological and palaeobotanical evidences . Not many Indian geomorphologists, let alone geographers, ever care much for evidences that are generated outside of their traditional domain. Dr. Sharma, thus, opens other paths for geomorphologists. This is a highly eclectic section, Dr. Sharma selects only those facts from the mass which can, with reasonable assurance, be fitted into the structure of arguments of reconstruction. Another noteworthy innovation in methodology evolved by Dr. Sharma is in abandoning the path of hypothesis evidence – hypothesis validation, and, instead, discovering a problem, a question, a simple statement, and then searching for a comprehensive body of evidences. Obviously, this has yielded splendid results but if the support of laboratory experimental data and geochemical

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data were also available the exact processes and the conditions in which the processes had operated, the reconstructions would have been further strengthened. In the charting out of palaeoclimatic trends Dr. Sharma has acted upon a credo 'a good geomorphologist must operate in a three-dimensional framework'. The third dimension, the time, is amply demonstrated in the profuse, elaborate, detailed profiles and sub-surface geological sections. Indeed, he has dug the past to reveal the past.

Following the longish discussion on the reconstruction of palaeoclimatic changes and stages are the innovative syntheses of morphogenetic forms and processes related to aeolian and fluvial landscapes, basin morphometry, morphogenesis of ravines, and planar surfaces and inselbergs. More than their own complexity, they certainly reveal in bold outlines the complexity of Rajasthan landscapes : it is interwoven with the patterns of the Peninsular, the North Indian Plains, and the Indian Desert landscapes. Unravelling the constituent threads of this complexity is a difficult task that Dr. Sharma has performed with great success. It goes to his credit that he has also attempted, with convincing results, the discovery of an unifying structure that overarches all the interpenetrating landscapes. This is forcefully exemplified by a splendid, large geomorphological map of Rajasthan. This map presents lithological units and geomorphologic units; the latter also displays in detail the structural, denudational, and fluvial geomorphic units. This is a geognostic map in the best tradition of geological geomorphology. In addition to portraying the lithology-geomorphology relationship it produces a synthesis of all the main features of geomorphologic landscape diversity. The map and the clearly identified geomorphological features set the Aravallian landscape apart from those of the Peninsular and North Indian Plain cognates. This map should draw the attention of all the geomorphologists who are working in a complex area of older geological formation and Quaternary processes. There are interesting and pleasant surprises in the chapters of Part Two : contrary to expectation the fluvial forms and systems and processes have prompted much longer discussion than the aeolian counterparts. Within the aeolian discussion the greatest emphasis has been placed on the sand-dunes. In the discussion of sand-dunes what must be noteworthy are the identification of types, alignment, composition, lithology, and temporal changes in forms, and the illustrative support given by the maps, sketches, toposheets, and landsat imageries.

In the detailed discussion on fluvial morphology there is a thorough description and explanation of the various geomorphic features produced by fluvial processes. Most interesting are the reconstructions of the evolution of important drainage systems and relationships with lineaments : all of them being identified faults. In basin morphometry Dr. Sharma attempts a convincing correlationship with rainfall, the dominant climatic parameter, with each

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and every basin morphometric element, specially runoff, discharge, silt load and sinuosity index. The correlations are good and convincing and thus validate the basic premises of both climatic geomorphology and tropical geomorphology.

Ravines and the process of ravination are familiar geomorphic events in many parts of India. Although they are widespread and their role in geomorphic damages and socioeconomic degeneration are well known, their origin and evolution and spread are still a matter of debate. Dr. Sharma, after giving us a detailed description of the different ravine systems related to major rivers, Chambal and Morel, arrives at the crucial topics of mechanisms and stages of ravine growth and a detailed and critical analysis and review of all the theories of origin of ravines. He pleads for a search for a theory that takes due notice of geological structure, vegetation, topography, rainfall characteristics, and human activity. Based on a wide reading of current literature and his own extensive observations Dr. Sharma proposes the rejuvenation theory of ravine origin. This is his own original contribution. Dr. Sharma posits a lowering of base-level caused by recent upliftment following a pattern of rejuvenation that expenses dynamic disequilibrium in which several events occurring successively result in an interrupted sequence of ravines. The rejuvenation theory needs to be scrutinised carefully through application over extensive areas. This is an important original contribution.

Moving through planar surfaces and inselbergs Dr. Sharma attempts, in the final section, a grand synthesis in the form of morphogenetic regions and land systems. This will be useful for a large gamut of practical purposes including the planning of strategy and tactics of the military movements and warfare. This purpose is further strengthened by the identification of component land units comprising the land systems.

Dr. Sharma has almost fully realised the objectives of the project. He deserves credit for the successful application of the concept and related techniques of tropical geomorphology to the state of Rajasthan, an area of great diversity in lithology, climate, soil, vegetation, hydrological characteristics, and geomorphology, an area where aeolian and fluvial processes have been clashing against each other for more than 10,000 to 15,000 years and as a result creating the vast complexity of geomorphic parameters and features. This is a book that must be on the shelfs of every geomorphologist.

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ESSAYS ON LEO TOLSTOY, ED. T. R. SHARMA, MEERUT, SHALABH PRAKASHAN, 1989. PP. XLII + 269. RS. 300/-

Susheel Kumar Sharma

This beautifully bound book is a collection of twenty one articles presented in a two-day seminar on Leo Tolstoy organized by the Department of English, Meerut University, Meerut. The articles in the book are preceded by a detailed introduction by the editor. Professor Sharma traces the social, political and literary history of Russia since early thirteenth century and thus, tries to make its comparison with what had been happening then in other European countries. He gives a detailed biographical sketch of Leo Tolstoy and tries to mention all the forces that shaped the mental make-up of the future litterateur and went into the making of his particular works.

Professor Massodul Hassan in his article 'Some Aspects of Tolstoyana in India' makes a bibliographical study of the translations of Tolstoy's works in India. His article sets forth that the book under review is a significant contribution to Tolstoy scholarship because this is the only full length published critical book on Tolstoy's works.

Dr. S. K. Vohra in his article 'Tolstoy : The Last Phase – Regression into Utopia' seeks to examine the Tolstoyan paradox – a mixture of historical greatness and childish simple mindedness. According to Dr. Vohra, "utopian elements entered Tolstoy's realism in the last phase as a serious contradiction when he attempted suggesting means to counter frustrations in personal life, repression and injustice – public" (pp. 24-25).

Dr. Asha Vishwas in her article 'Tolstoy's views on Christ and Christianity' quotes a great deal from Tolstoy's writings on religion to show that he had turned a sceptic and criticized church and its ways and did not believe in the Bible as a gospel truth because he judged them by his reason. She does not elaborate on the reasons of Tolstoy's conversion from faith to faith-lessness. She concludes : ". . . Tolstoy has done a great service to humanity in pointing out the weaknesses and contradictions of the existing Churches. . . when he seems to be aiming at replacing the need of a church by his own 'Christianity', he moves on the wrong lines" (p. 43). The second part of her conclusion is unreasonable because once the contradictions and weaknesses of a religion have been pointed out, the alternative must be enunciated

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because simply pointing out faults is meaningless if some alternative is not suggested.

Dr. Saleem Ahmad in his article 'Tolstoy's Pedagogical Ideas' summarizes Tolstoy's ideas on several pedagogical issues like course curricula, methodology, examination, teacher-taught relationship, and nationalization of education. The real aim of education according to Tolstoy is not merely to literate the people but to stir up their imagination to make them more and more creative. Dr. Ahmad maintains that Tolstoy criticised the then exiting educational policies of the government of "his immense love and sympathy for the peasants and the down trodden" (p. 46). Dr. Saleem, however, does not mention the practicability of Tolstoy's ideas for like Milton he himself failed as a teacher and an educationist.

Professor Harish Raizada in his article 'Tolstoy On Art an Artists' summarizes Tolstoy's views of different works of art and artists, aesthetics and its allied issues. According to Professor Raizada, Tolstoy's unconventional views on art are a result of his (Tolstoy's) conversion into "a religious prophet" (p. 67).

Professor M. H. Khan's 'Tolstoy's Critique of Shakespeare', is an attempt to find out the causes of Tolstoy's denigrating of Shakespeare; and quotes Orwell to his support. Professor Khan also attempts to put Tolstoy's criticism in the historical perspective in the gamut of continental literature particularly criticism. He writes that "Tolstoy's attack on Shakespeare seems to belong with the sporadic, isolated and 'unprincipled' variety that is a criticism arising from . . . Tolstoy's unconscious assimilation of the theory of the novel to the very different art of poetic drama" (pp. 82-84). He further writes : ". . . Tolstoy's incomprehension of the source of Shakespeare's greatness proceeds from his inability to appreciate Shakespeare's poetics. The only difference, perhaps, between him and Shakespeare's admirers is that he indulges in downright condemnation of what he misapprehends whereas Shakespeare's admirers gloss over what in their hearts they rightly or wrongly believe to be Shakespeare's inadequacies" (pp. 87-88). Whatever Orwell might have said about Tolstoy's criticism of Shakespeare. Professor Khan will have to accept that Tolstoy as a critic is truly disinterested, as Arnold wants an ideal critic a critic to be. Therefore, Tolstoy's criticism cannot be dismissed easily.

Dr. M. K. Chaudhri applies Joycean definition of epiphany to Tolstoy's fiction in his article 'Epiphany of Death in Tolstoy's Fiction' and illustrates how the great artist "uses death as the source of highest wisdom . . . . to purify the inner man" (p. 100) in his fiction.

In his article 'Virgina Woolf on Tolstoy' Prof. K. K. Sharma makes "an attempt at assimilating, interpreting and evaluating the numerous remarks Virginia Woolf has made about Leo Tolstoy as a fictionist in her writings with

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a view to evincing the fact that she has contributed most to assessing to him his rightful place in the realm of fiction,"(p.107) which was denied to Tolstoy by earlier English critics and reviewers. Professor Sharma enlists the following merits of Tolstoy's fiction as enumerated by V. Woolf : wonderful element of familiarity in his writings; the element of spirituality; reflection and introspection; a mixed feeling of joy and fear which "most enthralls and most repels"; living characters with flesh and bones, with mind heart and soul creating God's plenty; his equal emphasis on the moments of 'being and those of 'non-being', his convincing and persuasive social criticism; and deliberate, painstaking craftmanship. She also finds certain blemishes in Tolstoy's writings. Professor K. K. Sharma enumerates them as follows : lack of humour; structural faults of some novels; too much of narration; and his misogynism. Though Professor Sharma denigrates Virginia Woolf's criticism saying that she "does not offer us a comprehensive critique of Tolstoy ; as a matter of fact, her discussion of Tolstoy is only a record of her impressions about him" (p. 122) yet it enriches a reader's understanding to Tolstoy.

'Tolstoy and Prem Chand : a comparative Study of Their Art and Vision' is sketchy paper by Professor Mohammad Yassen. There is hardly any comparison of the two giant's art and vision but only rudimentary statements here and there like "There is no denying the fact the range of Tolstoy's writings is wider and his insight deeper than that of Prem Chand " (p. 131) Professor Yaseen seems to concentrate more on the social milieu of the two authors than on their literary work. He starts with a reference to their fiction but soon turns to their circumjacence : "A perusal of the major novels of Tolstoy and Prem Chand shows closer affinity between two masters. Both lived and wrote under the shadow of despotic regimes in their respective countries. Both evince profound knowledge of human nature and consciousness of historical, political and economic forces. . . " (p. 130-131). Examples of this sort of incoherence are not uncommon throughout the ten pages of the paper.

Of the three articles on epical *War and Peace,* Professor T. R. Sharma's '*War and Peace* : A Three-Tier Study' enriches one's understanding of the magnum opus. He studies the novel on the following three planes : (i) a family chronicle (ii) a historical novel and (iii) a psycho-spiritual study of men in a given situation. Mr. J. P. Savita's 'Tolstoy's Vision of History in *War and Peace'* analyses Tolstoy's theory of history reflected mainly in the Epilogues of the novel. If one can write one sentence or two sentence small paragraphs most ordinary in information about Tolstoy, his family life, his generation, his times, about fiction in general and the theme, characterization, symbols in *War and Peace,* that too haphazardly one will get Munthar Mohammad Habib's 'Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace* : A Re-Evaluation' [sic].

There are two articles on *Anna Karenina.* Dr. Manorama B. Trikha in her 'Meaning Beyond Fixed Definitions : Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina'* studies the

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novel on the three planes viz family plane, "socio-political norms . . . at various levels of society" (p. 169) and the spiritual crisis of the contemporary society. Her thesis is that the novel attempts to seek new moral and religious cannons. she concludes saying : "Levin's message of 'goodness' lays the foundation of a new religion, that is not the religion of 'fixed definition'" (p. 179). Dr. Arun Kumar in his article 'Leo Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* : A Re-evaluation' does not tell us as to what he wants to re-evaluate nor does he fix any norms and criterion for evaluation and re-evaluation with the result that he concludes arbitrarily: "*Anna Karenina* remains his greatest novel" (p. 191).

Spiritualism in *Resurrection* has drawn the attention of two scholars. Dr. Narayan Sharma in his well argued and well illustrated article 'Eclipse and the Apoclypse in *Resurrection'* brings out meticulously that it is neither Nekhludov nor Maslova who is resurrected in the novel but it is "a pious hope - a mere possibility" for every soul. Dr. Shrawan K. Sharma considers Nekhludov to be spiritual quester but does not mention his "spiritual pride and vanity of righteousness" (p. 201) as hinted at by Dr. Narayan Sharma. according to Dr. Shrawan, Nekhlyudov's quest spiritual fiction ends when he "falls into a state of perfect satisfaction to which he has long been stranger and is turned, in the matter of minutes, aside, out, remorsed and cleased" (p. 217) which in no case can be called perfect spiritual quest.

Professor R. S. Sharma's '*The Death of Ivan Ilyich* : A Study in Point of View'is a good piece of formalistic criticism. He works out the theoretical framework in the first part and applies it to Tolstoy's novella in the second part.

Professor Richard Dutt in his article 'Akim : The Patient Christ in *The Power of Darkness'* takes a part to be whole when he compares Akim and Christ. Even if Akim believes in 'Pardon' and 'resist not evil', he cannot be termed 'patient Christ'. There is no imagery used by Tolstoy to this effect in the play.

Mr. Subhash Chandra analyses the didactic element in eight short stories in his 'Tolstoy the Crusader: *A Study of Master Man and Other Parables and Tales'*. Most of these stories centre round the christian idea that a camel may pass through the eye of a needle but a rich man cannot enter the gate of heaven. He argues that Tolstoy is envisaging a society with "humanness, selflessness, fellow-feeling, humility, love and compassion" (p. 249).

Ms. Reshma Aquil's '*The Kreutzer Sonata* and the problem of Women and marriage' touches upon the theme of female emancipation in the story. She concludes that for Tolstoy the solution for social evils and all sorts of double standards lies in 'moral development of individuals' (P. 255).

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Professor V. G. Budai's 'L. N. Tolstoy and M. K. Gandhi : The Two Great Souls of Mankind' will not enlighten a reader who has gone through *Traditions of Great Friendship* (Moscow : Raduga, 1985).

The printing of the book is clear but there are some misprints also, for example : 'Eugenii' in place of 'Eugene' (p. ix), 'aave' in place of 'have' (p. 37), 'religions' in place of 'religious' (p. 67) to mention a few.

The book provides a sumptuous intellectual feast though it is out of reach because of its high price to most of the individuals.

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BUDDHIST REMAINS BY DEVENDRA HANDA, HERITAGE OF HARYANA II, DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY & MUSEUMS, CHANDIGARH, 1989. PP. 30 (including the prelims and 31 photographic and line-drawn illustrations and the frontispiece). Price not mentioned.

D.C. Bhattacharyya

This monograph has a deceptive appearance. It looks like one of those souvenirs published by various institutions on special occasions and forgotten afterwards. But to those who know the importance of the title of the publication, and are definitely to be tempted to go through it with interest, it is like a cache of information and cerebration. The author being one of the most well-known Indologists of today, and one who is an authority on the art and archaeology of Haryana, this slender publication presents the rare combination of authentic information and unbiased interpretation. The lucid style of presentation, without burdening too much with technical jargons, has made this research treatise eminently readable and comfortably accessible.

It is, however, a matter of controversy whether it is methodologically sound to monitor the arbitrarily labelled artistic expressions, like the Buddhist art forms, in a regional isolation. Regionalism is not the essence of art, but a phraseological redundance. Identification of features which are exclusively of local origin and of those obtained through itinerant transmission is well neigh impossible. Regional or provincial categorization of art cannot but be, therefore, based on a dubious frame of reference. Similarly, it is very difficult sometimes to be absolutely sure about what is Buddhist or Buddhistic and what is not. For instance, the so-called Aśokan columns, or the like in view of the Mauryan type polish, have been cited by Mr. Handa as an item of the Buddhist remains. But it is still a matter of doubt whether Aśokan columns or pillars have a specifically Buddhistic content. Even if we accept the propositions that Aśoka did actually embrace Buddhism and that the *Dhamma* of his edicts is Buddhism *per se*, whatever was made or is alleged to have been made under his patronage should not necessarily be Buddhistic. Similarly, there is doubt about the reading of the Buddhistic content of some of the sculptures cited as examples of the "Buddhist remains". The terracotta figurines from Sugh, Agroha and Sirsa can very well be interpretated in other

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terms. Antiquarian importance of these places, even in Buddhist contexts, is no guarantee for all antiquities discovered from these places to be Buddhistic. Proximity to the Kuṣāṇa style, or to the stylistic features of other figurines which have already been identified as Buddhistic, is also no proof of the religious content. Styles have frequently been shared in diverse dispensation. Same is the case with iconography.

But inspite of reservations about some of the ascriptions mentioned above, we must admit that Mr. Handa has done a commendable job by bringing to the attention of scholars a potential area of investigative research. He has traced the development of the archaeology of Buddhism in Haryana and has cited relevant sculptural and architectural evidence in support of his narrative. Some of the visual materials that he has documented were unknown or little known to most of the scholars. His scholarly exposition of these materials is doubtless a great service to Indological researches.

Mr. Handa has said nothing in the air. All his observations and reasoning are supported by copious citation of references to original texts, archaeological data and to the published writings of the predecessors. In view of this, his presentation has been that of a serious piece of research. The excellence of his monograph can better be appreciated if it is compared with the first volume of the Heritage of Haryana series, concerned with Brahmanical sculptures, published earlier by the same department. Mr. Handa has a firm grasp of the history and culture of Haryana, and this intimate knowledge of the subject is reflected throughout the text of the present monograph. His analytical approach and lucid style of presentation have enriched the publication.

We would, however, like to bring Mr. Handa's attention to a few points needing his consideration. The Jhajjar Buddha of the Gandhāran style has been described by him as being "seated in *padmāsana* on a lotus-seat". Obviously, he has used the term *padmāsana* to denote the mode of sitting, i.e., the disposition of the feet, of the image. But the image of Buddha Kanakamuni from Brahmanawas has been described by him as being seated with "folded legs in *vajraparyaṅkāsana*". Here too the reference seems to be to the mode of sitting. In the Buddhist context, *padmāsana* and *vajraparyaṅkāsana* have specific terminological connotations. From the photographic illustration (Fig. 11) of the Brahmanawas image, the disposition of its legs is not clearly discernible. But if the legs are just "folded", as given by Mr. Handa, and not crossed, as is required of the *vajraparyaṅkāsana*, Mr. Handa's description needs modification. Similarly, the Jhajjar image seems to have the *vajraparyaṅkāsana* mode of sitting, and not the one that the Buddhist technical texts recognize as the *padmāsana*. Moreover, Mr. Handa' description of the Jhajjar image (Fig. 14) as having the hands "disposed in the pose of preaching" also needs revision. It seems that he has read the gesture of the

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hands of the image as the same as or as equivalent to the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā* which is usually referred to as the "pose of preaching." But the gesture of the hands of the image is different from that of the requirement of the so-called "pose of preaching." It should be pointed out that the disposition of the hands of the image relates to what is known as the *bodhyaṅgī-mudrā* or the hand-pose symbolizing the Supreme Wisdom (Bodhi). In fact, the confusion was created by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya in his *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* and by the scholars who blindly followed him, by having postulated that the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā* and the *bodhyaṅgī-mudrā* are one and the same. But, although there is an apparent mix-up in the ascription of these two *mudrās* in the iconographical descriptions given in some of the canonical treatises, it should be pointed out that in terms of the technical specifications given in the context of their respective definitions, these two *mudrās* are physically and conceptually distinct among each other. The hand-pose displayed by the Jhajjar image answers to the specifications of the *bohyangī-mudrā* and not to the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā* ("pose of preaching").

The railing pillar from Hathin is an important sculptural piece in view of the medallion representing the scene of queen Māyā's dream (Figs. 6 and 7). Mr. Handa has dated it to circa second century B.C. on stylistic ground. He has not pointed out the features which, according to him, are indicative of such an early date. However, according to him, the traces of a few Brāhmī letters corroborate this dating. This so-called corroboration obviously is based on the palaeography of these letters. We are unable to comment on the cogency of this corroborative evidence in view of the fact that the character of the letters have not been made available, through reproduction, for scrutiny . Moreover, a few letters may not offer enough material evidence facilitating a *bona fide* conclusion. In terms of the attributes of the thematic content and their compositional distribution, the Hathin medallion seems to be a derivative of the well-known medallion, bearing the same theme, from Bharhut. The latter medallion is ascribed to the second century B.C. Stylistically, the Hathin medallion seems to be of, at least, a century later than its possible prototype.

It is a pity that this important research publication has not been provided with illustrations of good-quality photographs. Many of the illustrations are in the nature of smudgy photographs from which it is very difficult to make out anything. The author of the monograph should not be blamed for this. Almost all the sculptures and monuments being either *in situ* or in the holdings in Haryana, the department of Archaeology and Museums of the state should have the drive and initiative to enrich the book of its own publication with better illustrations. Another shortcoming of the monograph is the non-mention of the figure numbers in the captions of the illustrations.

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The text mentions them, but it is difficult to co-ordinate them with the illustrations unless one mentally keeps track of the serial accession of these.

However, this apparently small but intrinsically substantial monograph should serve as an important reference book for subsequent researches on the subject. The distinguished author deserves all praise for his contribution virtually to a nascent field of study.

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IMPERIAL GUPTA EPIGRAPHS BY DR. PRITHVI KUMAR AGRAWALA, PUB. BOOKS ASIA, VARANASI - 221 005, 1983, PP. 132, PLATES 62, PRICE RS. 275

Jagannath Agrawal

The *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Volume III edited by John Faithful Fleet, was published in 1888, containing all the inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, their feudatories, the Parivrājakas of Ucchakalpa, some of their contemporaries like the Vākāṭakas, and their successors the Later Guptas of Magadha, the Maukharis, the Kings of Valabhī, the Hūṇas and the Aulikaras. Within a year of the publication of Fleet's monumental work, epigraphical discoveries of great historical value began to be made. In 1889, the Bhitari Silver-copper Seal came to light which not only added three new kings to the dynastic list of the Imperial Guptas, but also gave rise to an intricate geneological and chronological problem. In 1903, the excavations at the ancient city of Vaiśālī brought to light a large number of terracotta seals which threw much new light on the administrative system of the Guptas and supplied two more names of Gupta princes – Govindagupta and Ghaṭotkachagupta. The year 1915 witnessed the discovery of good number of important inscriptions on stone and copper-plates. In this year excavations at Sarnath near Varanasi, brought to light beautiful Buddha images dated the Gupta year 154 of the region of Kumāragupta [II] and the Gupta year 157 during the rule of Budhagupta. A set of five copper-plates belonging to the reigns of Kumāragupta I, Budhagupta and [Vishṇugupta] was discovered at Damodarpur in Dinajpur District, now in Bangladesh. Sporadic discoveries continued to occur in Bihar, U.P. and Madhya Pradesh, amongst which the Mathura Stone Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II dated 61, the terracotta seals discovered at Nalanda during 1927-28, and the Tumain and Mandasor inscriptions were very important, for the historical information which they furnished for the first time. All these new discoveries were published in various Research Journals and the publications of the Archaeological Survey of India; but there was a crying need to publish them at one place together with the earlier inscriptions contained in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. This great task was entrusted to the very competent hands of the late Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, but before he could complete it, the Second World War broke out. Even Calcutta suffered an air-raid and Professor Bhandarkar's manuscript had to be removed to a safer place inside India. However, to the great

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relief of the students of epigraphy, Dr. D. C. Sircar's *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History*, Vol. I came out in 1942. It contained most of the Gupta Inscriptions published by that time, but the text of inscriptions was not revised, nor was an English translation given in this Volume.

In the meantime Dr. P. K. Agrawala, prepared an ambitious plan of publishing the ancient Indian inscriptions in 20 Volumes, of which Volume X was to contain the Imperial Gupta Epigraphs, which was published in 1983, and is the subject of the present review. The author has spared no pains in preparing this Volume. He has carefully examined the Sanskrit text, and also incorporated the emendations and suggestions of scholars published so far in Research Journals. He has brought the work quite upto date by adding all new discoveries brought to light as late as 1973. His own suggestions are highly valuable and enlightening, and have solved some old standing problems. Only two examples will suffice to illustrate his keen critical sense. In the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, there occurs the designation *Khādyaṭapākika*, with the name of Harisheṇa, who was the minister of peace and war. Fleet was doubtful whether it was a tribal or family name or an official title. D. C. Sircar emended it as *Khādya-kūṭa-pākikasya*, and opined that it meant, "the head of the superintendents of the royal kitchen." However, such a high dignitary as Harisheṇa could not have been assigned such a duty. Dr. Agrawala has solved this enigma by suggesting that Khādyaṭapāka is the name of some locality from which Harisheṇa hailed. A locality of this name is actually mentioned in the Dhanaidah Copper-plate of Kumāragupta I's time. Similarly, he has clarified the meanings of *Vala-yashṭi* which had been much misunderstood. It occurs in the Bhumra Pillar Inscription first published by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey Report*, IX (1879), 16, where he translated it as "a sacrificial pillar" or "a boundary pillar". Dr. Fleet also published this inscription in *CII*, III. He emended *Vala-yashṭi* as *Valaya-yashṭi* and translated it as "a boundary pillar". This word was again discussed at length by Dr. D. C. Sircar in *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIII, 167-172, and came to the conclusion that, "the meaning of *Vala-yashṭi* is not clear" (ibid. 172). Dr. P. K. Agrawala, has now clinched the issue in the following words, "*Vala-yashṭi* should refer to a memorial pillar raised over a spot that enshrined the remains of the deceased".

In all cases of disputed readings and interpretation the present author is invariably justified. He has given us a very reliable text. He has also added the latest discoveries like the Jagdishpur Copper-plate and the Durjanpur Image inscriptions, and also included some more records which had been put in the background by Fleet. The student of Gupta history will find these additions as useful. Dr. Agrawala richly deserves hearty congratulations for having done a fine job in the editing of these inscriptions. The plates have been prepared with good care and will be very useful. The printing is good

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though a few mistakes have crept in, which however, have been corrected by the editor himself.

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